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## Contents

The Study of Social Problems .....	FRANCIS E. MERRILL	251
Discussion .....	ALBERT K. COHEN	259
Discussion .....	ERNEST R. MOWRER	260
Discussion .....	STUART A. QUEEN	261
International Relations and Sociology .....	W. REX CRAWFORD	263
Discussion .....	RAYMOND KENNEDY	268
Discussion .....	C. WRIGHT MILLS	271
Discussion .....	JOHN W. GARDNER	273
Discussion .....	PAUL E. SMITH	275
An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing ..	ALLAN A. TWICHELL	278
Collective Behavior in Race Relations ....	CLARENCE E. GLICK	287
Internal Migration and Racial Composition of the Southern Population .....	PRESTON VALIEN	294
Another Commentary on So-Called Segregation Indices ....	JOSEPHINE J. WILLIAMS	298
Distribution of Migrant Population in Chicago .....	RONALD FREEDMAN	304
Developing Demoscopes for Social Research ..	STUART C. DODD	310
Underenumeration in the Census as Indicated by Selective Service Data .....	R. J. MYERS	320
The Relationship of Schizophrenia to Occupational Income and Occupational Prestige .....	ROBERT E. CLARK	325
Social Background and Musical Taste ...	KARL F. SCHUESSLER	330
OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS		
Announcement by the Program Committee .....		336
CURRENT ITEMS		
Notes on Research and Teaching		
New Directions in Educational Sociology and the Teaching of Sociology .....	LESLIE D. ZELENY	336
Communications and Opinion		
A Note on the Term "Race" .....	BERNHARD J. STERN	341
Concerning Membership in the German Sociological Society .....	ALFRED MC CLUNG LEE	341
News and Announcements .....		342
BOOK REVIEWS		
Katz: <i>Freud: On War, Sex and Neurosis</i> . Richard T. LaPiere		346
Hollitscher: <i>Sigmund Freud: An Introduction</i> . Richard T. LaPiere .....		346

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Róheim: <i>Psychoanalysis and the Social Studies</i> . Richard T. LaPiere .....	346
Bakke: <i>Mutual Survival: The Goal of Unions and Management</i> . Wilbert E. Moore .....	348
Harbison and Dubin: <i>Patterns of Union-Management Relations</i> . Wilbert E. Moore .....	348
Lewisohn: <i>Human Leadership in Industry: The Challenge of Tomorrow</i> . Wilbert E. Moore .....	348
Weber: <i>The Theory of Social and Economic Organization</i> . Gottfried Salomon Delatour .....	349
Bowen: <i>German Theories of the Corporative State</i> . Seba Eldridge .....	351
Chapin: <i>Experimental Designs in Sociological Research</i> . Robert C. Angell .....	352
Lins: <i>A Transformação de Lógica Conceitual de Sociologia</i> . Oracy Nogueira .....	353
Ogburn: <i>The Social Effects of Aviation</i> . Hornell Hart .....	353
Buchanan and Lutz: <i>Rebuilding the World Economy: America's Role in Foreign Trade and Investment</i> . J. V. Van Sickle .....	354
Milbank Memorial Fund: <i>Postwar Problems of Migration</i> . Amos H. Hawley .....	355
Lang: <i>Chinese Family and Society</i> . Arthur Evans Wood .....	356
Cox: <i>Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics</i> . Samuel W. Blizzard, Jr. ....	357
Kitay: <i>Radicalism and Conservatism Toward Conventional Religion</i> . Edward W. Blakeman .....	358
Kinneman: <i>The Community in American Society</i> . Jesse F. Steiner .....	359
Odum: <i>Understanding Society: The Principles of Dynamic Sociology</i> . Wilbur B. Brookover .....	360
Allport and Postman: <i>The Psychology of Rumor</i> . Alfred McClung Lee .....	361
Ackerman and Harris: <i>Family Farm Policy</i> . Roy Hinman Holmes .....	361
Friedlander: <i>The Psycho-Analytical Approach to Juvenile Delinquency</i> . Walter C. Reckless .....	363
Guzman: <i>Negro Year Book</i> . Hugh H. Smythe .....	363
Whitman: <i>The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso: A Changing Culture</i> . Fred Eggan .....	364
Heimann: <i>Freedom and Order: Lessons from the War</i> . Read Bain .....	365

#### BOOK NOTES

O'Neill: <i>Ethics for the Atomic Age</i> .....	367
Dubester: <i>National Censuses and Vital Statistics in Europe</i> ..	367
Hill: <i>Science: Its Effect on Industry, Politics, War, Education, Religion and Leadership</i> .....	367
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED .....	368



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## THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS\*

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### INTRODUCTION

A social problem is a situation believed to be a threat to or an infringement upon an established social value and considered capable of amelioration or elimination by appropriate social action. A social problem has the following elements: (a) a situation capable of measurement; (b) a value believed threatened thereby; (c) a realization that the situation and the value may (theoretically) be reconciled by group action. These elements must all be present before the situation may be adjudged a social problem. The student of social problems should therefore maintain a healthy respect for a fact; he should understand the role of a social value; and he should realize the possibilities of constructive social action.

Social problems are products of a dynamic society, in which behavior changes more rapidly than the values that define it. Societies exhibiting a consistent disparity between behavior and the values by which it is defined are in a state of (relative) social disorganization. Social problems and social disorganization are thus complementary ways of describing the same thing. We are interested here in those situations

that violate or threaten basic social values and thereby disturb the group sense of well-being.

Social values are the definitions of behavior whose maintenance the group considers important to its welfare. These values are an intimate part of the individual personality and any infringement constitutes a threat to the personality and a menace to the personal integrity. Social problems are thus of immediate interest to the student because they deal with situations and values that constitute the core of his personality. The student wants to know more about the situations and the changes that have given rise to them. He wants to know more about the social values that have been threatened and how these threats have arisen. He wants, in short, to know more about social disorganization.

Social problems taken alone, therefore, do not tell the whole story. This approach by itself is essentially static, expressing a cross-section of behavior at a particular time. The situation, the value, and the action are all important to complete understanding, but they do not describe the genesis of the behavior that is considered contrary to social values. In the progression from social problems to social disorganization, we move from the concrete to the analytical. Hence, there is no inconsistency between the "social problems" and

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the "social disorganization" approach. They are clearly complementary; the first introduces the problem and the second attempts to find out how and why it arose.

These remarks set down briefly the frame of reference for social problems and social disorganization. The two points of view are both pedagogically and conceptually complementary. The problems approach alone produces a fragmentary consideration of a number of isolated situations existing more or less independently. The social disorganization approach alone tends to lose sight of the trees for the forest and the individual problems often fail to come alive. The remainder of the paper will examine the three constituent elements of the social problem (the situation, the value, and the action). There will be a brief consideration of the status of existing knowledge in the field and some suggestions as to how and where this knowledge may be advanced. The paper will raise as many questions as it answers. In the present state of knowledge, such a procedure is both inevitable and healthy.

#### THE SITUATION

The first element of a social problem is a fact. Waiving the possible epistemological implications of this statement, a fact in this context is a verifiable determination of human behavior on a large scale. The problem starts with the observation of behavior considered contrary to social values. The behavior is given meaning by the social definition placed upon it. Forms of behavior most completely noted are those coming to the attention of the bureaucratic process. Crime, mental derangement, and (recently) divorce are examples of behavior compiled with reasonable accuracy by government machinery. Other behavior (notably in the field of sex relations) does not come within the direct purview of bureaucratic administration and hence is not ordinarily counted so accurately. Activities known as sins are primarily private in character and are presumably known only to the participant and God. Departures from these values are social problems, but information pertaining thereto is ordinarily more vague than in the

case of crimes and misdemeanors, where the relationship exists between the individual and the state.

One form of behavior may thus be considered a social problem and another and related form hardly considered. Divorce implies a deliberate action of participants and state and the result is incorporated into a statistic interpreted as an index to a threatened social value. Desertion is an informal action, taken without benefit of state; public knowledge of this situation and its definition as a social problem are therefore slight. The behavior goes relatively unnoticed except for persons with a professional knowledge of or interest in such matters. Furthermore, desertion does not bring the family dissolution into sharp legal focus, as is the case with divorce. Religious and social ties are still formally intact and the fiction is maintained that ultimate reconciliation is still possible. Many of the personal adjustments of deserted families are more difficult than those of divorced families because of the uncertain status of desertion. Without widespread public awareness, however, desertion does not register as a social problem of a severity commensurate with its extent and consequences.

Measurement involves other questions of behavior. How many persons must engage in a given activity before it becomes a social problem? How widespread must the departure from the norm be before the value is threatened? This decision is also partially a question of knowledge. If the general public is not aware of a situation, there is no social problem. Other considerations should be explored in this amorphous field. Differences exist in the degree of seriousness of the behavior, which is another way of referring to the comparative strength of the values involved. A few thousand murders annually committed are obviously a more serious problem than several million persons taking too much to drink. Yet both forms of behavior represent threats to established social values.

It is appropriate here to indicate some of the approaches to the determination of behavior that have been evolved in recent

years. One of the most stimulating has been the investigation of the social setting within which the behavior takes place. The ecological approach has been applied with significant insight to the problem of family disorganization by Mowrer, suicide by Cavan and Schmid, mental derangement by Faris and Dunham, juvenile delinquency by Shaw, and commercialized vice by Reckless. Such behavior was formerly viewed apart from its social context, with the result that little was known about the casual factors. The techniques and points of approach advanced by the ecological observers should provide added future insight into these problems. The application of this approach to other forms of behavior, such as sex offenses, alcoholism, and white-collar crime would furnish additional insight into these social problems.

Closely related to the determination of the ecological context of social problems is the definition of the behavior in its broader social setting. Changes in the social climate, although admittedly difficult to measure, nevertheless form part of this larger picture. Evaluations of facts often change more rapidly than might be expected and the public becomes accustomed to behavior that would recently have been considered catastrophic. A change in the divorce-marriage ratio from one in six to one in three in less than 20 years would thus seem to constitute a threat to a central social value. Yet public opinion has adjusted with surprising ease to this situation. In this case, the value has partially changed and divorce has become increasingly accepted as an unpalatable but inescapable fact. The disorganization of the family is still defined as a social problem, but the social temperature has changed considerably. These broad moral and valuational changes are directly reflected in social problems and should be further investigated.

A second trend is apparent in the discovery of new types of social facts. The significant series of studies by Kinsey on sexual behavior in the United States constitutes an important step in this direction. The strong emotional content of sex be-

havior has rendered such transgressions among the most explosive of all social problems and one in which more heat than light has ordinarily been generated. Former investigations of sexual behavior have been limited to small samples of selected population groups, with the result that little has actually been known about this form of behavior. The researches of Kinsey and his associates have received the prestige and resources of a great foundation. With this sponsorship, they have gathered sexual histories of large samples of the population. The size of these samples (5,300 in the case of the male) and their diversity make them by far the most representative available studies. This has been the least known of all the behavior defined as social problems, and most of the generalizations of the sociologists have been almost as unsupported as those of the laymen.

A final consideration in the delimitation of the situation is related to the Kinsey study, although the emphasis here changes from subject matter to method. I refer to recent advancements in scientific sampling. The Bureau of the Census and the National Office of Vital Statistics have made significant advancements along this line, as illustrated by their continuous sampling of such aspects of social problems as mobility, unemployment, and family disorganization. By their use of these techniques, these agencies are currently supplying a running commentary on many facets of the American scene and providing vital information on changing behavior more often than once in every decade. Future knowledge of many social problems lies in the development and further application of these techniques on the national level.

These and other Federal agencies are uniquely qualified to provide factual information on social problems on a national scale. They are currently in possession of quantities of pertinent data which they are unable to analyze completely. Here is information waiting for analysis by the student of social problems. Instead of the present emphasis upon individual local studies which can often produce only small bodies

of information of local significance, more attention might well be paid to the broader information already gathered by those agencies eminently qualified to do so. The facts are there that might throw new light upon a variety of social problems. We might make use of them.

The first consideration in the study of social problems is thus the nature and extent of various forms of behavior. This is essentially a quantitative matter. The decision as to which behavior shall be measured is another problem. In our mobile and heterogeneous society, a great deal of behavior might conceivably be measured. Its intrinsic importance as a social problem is another thing. The mere availability of information does not insure its importance in this connection. Behavior must be defined before it is important. It must threaten certain social values either actually or putatively before it comes within the scope of social problems. Social values enter the analysis at this point. We turn our attention thereto.

#### THE VALUE

A social value may be defined as a pattern of belief whose maintenance is considered important to group welfare. Social values are fewer in number than the mores and involve fewer situations. The emotions investing values are stronger than those investing many (but not all) of the mores. The patterns of monogamous marriage, private property, democratic government, and Christian worship are among the most important values in our society. When these and related values are threatened, the resulting situation constitutes a social problem. Social values are also the products of their social setting. Some grow spontaneously out of the social situation, while others are superimposed by various agencies of social control and hence may or may not represent the actual behavior of the majority. The Christian value of chastity never evolved from general behavior, but was propounded as an ideal by Paul, Tertullian, and the other Church Fathers. The values of the monogamous family, on the other hand, arose out of actual social situa-

tions to sanction a going institutional pattern.

The majority of the social values similarly represent situations that actually existed or were at least approximated. Individual divergences could always be found, but they seldom existed in sufficient numbers to threaten the values. Social problems represent situations where the value once stood for the conventional way of life, but where the behavior has since changed. The resulting hiatus between the situation and its definition is central to social problems. Such a discrepancy is also endemic to a dynamic society.

Social values are often taken as immutable data that continue unchanged from generation to generation. Social values, however, are in process of change, along with everything else in our society. The setting of social values is thus an important and neglected field of social study. Some systematic work has been done in this field, notably by the late Richard Fuller, but much remains to be done. Recent investigations into family behavior have examined such values as the traditional patterns and roles whose current denial constitutes a serious social problem. The disparity between the rate of change in behavior and in the value patterns brings about the social problem. The central value of the traditional family—its solidarity—is changing along with the way of life that produced it. The sociology of values in a dynamic society, therefore, constitutes an important field for the student of social problems.

A significant venture into this field has been made by Sutherland in his study of the white-collar criminal. The traditional conception of crime was an outgrowth of middle class values which defined it in terms of tangible objects and persons and furthermore made the possession of a white collar a symbol of respectability. These middle class values are so completely integrated into our culture that the definition of crime (especially against property) is difficult in any other terms. The illegal manipulation of the instruments and symbols of ownership is so hard to understand and so com-



pletely cloaked in an aura of respectability that its definition as a social problem presents considerable difficulty. Similar investigations of the social setting of other social values would be helpful in this connection.

The sociology of knowledge is not ordinarily considered as related to social problems. Nevertheless, this point of approach offers insight into the social context within which values arise, change, and determine social problems. Values are social products in the same sense as any other elements of culture and the sociology of knowledge offers a significant approach thereto. Values related to property, sex behavior, marriage permanence, group solidarity, individual conformity, and the like can be more clearly understood when their social context is made clear. If social values were completely fixed and immutable, the continued presence of large scale violations would bode ill for the future. If these manifestations are viewed as susceptible to change along with their social context, some amelioration is at least theoretically possible.

The constant flux of behavior and value raises other questions concerning the permanence of particular social problems. Does the value ever catch up to the behavior? Do some social problems cease to exist as public interest and awareness change? The answer is obviously yes. Massive changes in behavior take place from one generation to the next, producing situations that once would have been social problems but are now viewed with tolerance. The abstention of a substantial minority of the population from regular church attendance (not to mention any formal religious affiliation whatever) would once have constituted a threat to a central value. Today this situation is hardly mentioned (outside of certain denominations) as a major social problem.

In such fields as marital permanence, premarital sex relationships, and the employment of women, the activities of a large minority of the population are at a variance with the values. These forms of behavior constitute social problems and will continue to do so for some time. Some values are apparently more flexible than others, which

latter continue to precipitate social problems. The Freudians maintain that the values defining sex behavior are the most persistent and inflexible. The Marxists aver that property values resist change most tenaciously. Roman Catholics insist that religious values underlie all others and hence are the slowest to change. A valuational hierarchy might be erected to determine which social problems are the most important. By measuring the intensity of the tendency to act in relation to these values, attitude scales perform a somewhat analogous function.

In their study of ego-involvement, Cantor and Sherif have investigated this question in terms of the processes by which the ego becomes identified with various beliefs and values. They have considered how different values became part of the personality and how tenaciously these values are held. Although social values have a definite superorganic character, they form a part of the individual personality. Ego-involvement might be considered in this context as the process by which the individual acquires the values that will ultimately determine whether or not a given situation constitutes a social problem. These values take slightly different forms in each individual. There is, however, sufficient consensus that agreement can ordinarily be reached that a situation is a social problem.

The process of ego-involvement is illuminated by other studies of group behavior. Thrasher's work on the gang and Shaw's researches on delinquency illustrate the inculcation of group values in the adolescent and preadolescent. The most important single agency in this respect is, of course, the family. Such a statement is often made categorically and then left, without actual determination as to how this process takes place. For the individual child, most of his social values come from the parental family. The mechanics of this relationship have not, however, been as completely explored as they might be. This instillation of value-judgments is a central part of personality formation, concerning which the student of social problems knows far too little.



Social values are also incorporated into the personality at different levels of consciousness. The insights of the psychoanalysts might here be applied to the study of social problems. Values held primarily on the conscious level may be more amenable to change than those held on the unconscious level. The unconscious part of the superego may be more difficult to change than the conscious part embodying the voice of conscience. Many of the values that define the sexual impulse, for example, are imbedded deep in the unconscious pattern of the personality whence they are summoned into consciousness by various techniques and under various circumstances. The individual may accept innovations in his own or another's sex behavior with his conscious mind and on this level may view departures from traditional morality with comparative indifference. In his unconscious mind, however, he may react violently against violations of the sexual values. His definition of such behavior is apparently motivated more by his unconscious than his conscious mental processes. In this way, many departures from the sex code become social problems.

The unconscious part of the mental process may thus be more conservative than the conscious. When we consider the values most firmly incorporated into the unconscious part of the personality, we see the genesis of many serious social problems. Sex behavior in both its premarital and postmarital manifestations carries a powerful connotation from the unconscious (and also the conscious) part of the superego and hence produces many of the most pressing social problems. Closely allied to the sex patterns are those related to the family—its form, its permanence, and its interrelationships. Religion is another pattern of social values early inculcated into the personality and hence resting deep in the unconscious (and conservative) part of the personality. Property values form another value incorporated into the personality which motivates social problems. Sex, the family, religion, and property all play a germinal role in social problems through the defining role of the values related thereto.

Social problems are further complicated when there is a conscious denial of their existence, accompanied by an unconscious realization that basic social values have been questioned. A collective sense of guilt may accompany this realization. The situation is defined on the conscious level as in accordance with prevailing values and on the unconscious level as a betrayal thereof. Racial discrimination in the South illustrates this type of social problem. There is an insistent denial that any problem exists, since such behavior is presumably in accord with prevailing values. The very strength of these conscious protestations suggests that this problem may be fundamental to the collective regional conscience. This suggestion is not an attempt to explain the race problem in a paragraph. It merely illustrates another approach to social problems in terms of social values and the situations they consciously or unconsciously define.

A final aspect of the role of social values in social problems has often been noted and hence need not be labored here. This is the role of values in obstructing the solution of social problems. The slum is defined as a social problem because the fact of millions of persons living under substandard physical conditions denies equal democratic opportunity. Any attempted solution to this problem, as Wirth has pointed out, immediately encounters the powerful values of private property. In the resulting ideological impasse, the possible solution to the housing problem becomes lost in a maze of rationalizations and value judgements. Other values erect similar ideological roadblocks in the way of solutions to other social problems. It is important to indicate to the student the nature of the difficulties encountered in solving even the most (apparently) simple problems. Social values make the task of social engineering more difficult.

#### THE ACTION

The discussion leads to the third aspect of social problems—the belief that appropriate social action can be taken that will either alleviate or eliminate the problem. The ultimate end of social knowledge is presumably social action and much of the

purposive social action of a democracy is directly or indirectly mobilized against various situations defined as social problems. The implications of this final aspect of social problems are therefore almost as inclusive as social action itself. We may indicate very briefly some of the relationships between social problems and social action.

Social problems are peculiar to modern, progressive, and democratic societies, which believe (at least in theory) in the perfectibility of man through rational collective activity. In feudal or static societies, many social problems do not exist because inequalities are assumed to be part of the traditional or divine order. Only a few visionaries believe that anything can be done about these evils and the rope and stake are often their only earthly reward. Most of these reformers pin their hopes for social betterment upon divine intervention rather than human activity. Only comparatively recently did the belief become widely held that man could do anything constructive about the inequalities of his society. Social problems are therefore an indication of a growing democracy. They are a sign that men are not only conscious of infringements upon social values but that they believe something can be done about them.

All social problems do not admit of direct solution through democratic action. Problems involving the public or private morality are not so readily solved. The problem of divorce, for example, cannot be solved by governmental action. The national government theoretically might forbid all divorce and thus, in effect, eliminate the problem. Such an action, however, is incommensurate with the individual freedom that is one of the basic tenets of democracy. One of the most jealously guarded American aspects of this freedom is the right to marry (and divorce) whom one chooses, without the necessity of parental, ecclesiastical, or bureaucratic sanction. This value of free individual choice would be seriously curtailed by any such action of the central authority. Americans prize their personal freedom above all other values.

Social values also determine the general form the proposed social action will take.

Cultures whose values are rooted in the Protestant ethic believe that action should come from the individual and that the solution of social problems is essentially an individual moral concern. Crime, divorce, war, and many other problems are defined as moral problems. The implication is that the individual (whose aggregate behavior constitutes the social problem) deliberately misbehaves because of a flaw in his moral character. One solution is to pass a law rendering the behavior so difficult or unpleasant that the individual will voluntarily refrain therefrom. This conception is still at the heart of the treatment of the criminal and of many other persons accused of antisocial behavior. The most popular "solution" to the divorce problem is first a return to the old morality and then a tightening of the divorce laws. Through this combination of moral suasion and legal action (both based upon the conception of a man as a rational animal) the social problem is assumed to be solved.

The other general form of social action might be called the institutional, as contrasted to the individual. Instead of attempting to change behavior through moral or legal means, the tendency is to modify the institution so that the behavior of individuals may be changed in accordance with democratic values. As the democratic state becomes increasingly a social welfare state, changes are introduced to mitigate such social problems as unemployment, ill health, accidental injury, mental deficiency, mental derangement, and many others. Such efforts were once the responsibility of the family or the church. The prevailing point of view was formerly that these situations were either acts of God or acts of lazy, improvident, and sinful men and hence that this behavior could be mitigated but not eliminated.

All problems, of course, do not lend themselves equally to these ameliorative efforts. Problems growing out of economic insecurity are most effectively modified by such efforts. Those growing out of conflicts between behavior and social values in the field of sex morality and group prejudice are less amenable. Sex behavior is private be-

havior and premarital sex relationships cannot be prohibited by ukase, especially in the day of the automobile, contraception, and miracle drugs. Religious problems similarly are left to the individual conscience and any governmental attempts to eliminate the problem of religious absenteeism would meet fierce resentment. The citizens of this country even jealously guard their putative right to entertain prejudice against their fellows for reasons of race, nationality, or religion. Formal action to ameliorate the discrimination arising from this prejudice has been comparatively unsuccessful. In these and many other aspects of the public morality, Americans stubbornly resist pressure to bring their behavior into accord with certain social values.

The realization that human activity can attack social problems, that such efforts are a legitimate concern of this world rather than the next, and that this activity itself constitutes a social value constitute the chief democratic contribution to social problems. The acceptance of this value has been a gradual process and has encountered many vested emotional interests. The belief in individual action is also a central value in our society, one that still conflicts on many levels with the democratic conception of social action. Many persons still view with suspicion the efforts of any agency larger than the family to ameliorate undesirable social situations. The depression changed the attitudes of many toward social action and some of the social reforms of this era are now universally accepted. The individual and the democratic nation today are faced with the crucial choice of how far the central authority should go toward solving social problems and how far certain problems should be left to the individual. The conflict of values at this point is acute and perhaps insoluble.

A brief recapitulation of the current status of the scientific study of social problems leaves us with the following general conclusions:

(1) *The Situation*—More facts are needed about certain forms of behavior, notably those involving public and private

morality. Such studies as those of Kinsey concerning sex behavior constitute a hopeful sign of future investigation in aspects of behavior hitherto delimited only by speculation. More facts on national trends of behavior in other fields of social problems through the wider use of the sampling techniques currently employed by the Bureau of the Census and other Federal agencies might well illuminate other aspects of behavior. The compilations of facts on social problems currently processed by these and other Federal agencies might be the source of future studies of social problems.

(2) *The Value*—The situation is only the first step in the study of social problems. Of equal importance is the definition of the situation by a social value. The study of these intangible but vital elements of culture constitutes the second general problem of social problems. This investigation might be pursued further along two related lines: *first*, studies of the broad social setting of social values and the forces producing changes therein; and *second*, studies in the inculcation of these values in the individual, such as the Cantril and Sherif investigations of ego-involvement. The two most important aspects of social values for our purposes may thus be further illuminated: namely, their existence as social products and their role in personality.

(3) *The Action*—Social action toward the amelioration of social problems belongs to the politician and the bureaucrat rather than the sociologist as such. The latter may nevertheless contribute information and insights as to the most desirable direction for this action to take. An important element in the understanding of social problems is the realization that (at least in theory) they are susceptible to purposeful manipulation. The sociologist has the not unimportant dual role of providing direction to students who will soon become citizens and to agencies already operating in the complex field of social action.

Social problems thus cut to the heart of a democratic society in the atomic age. Technological change continues to produce situations for which no easy solution exists.

Many social values are those of an earlier day and bear only a remote relationship to the contemporary situation. Other values have undergone slight modification but are still hopelessly out of tune with current behavior. Still other values have changed with the new situation and the social problem has thereby ceased to exist. Social problems are thus the inescapable heritage (and, in a deeper sense, perhaps, the true glory) of a dynamic democracy. They reflect the adventure of modern man, now more than ever before a stranger and afraid in a world he never made.

### DISCUSSION

Albert K. Cohen  
*Indiana University*

The paper stresses the role of values in defining situations and behavior as problems and in obstructing their solution, but it does not discuss the role of values in *producing* the situation defined as problematical. Indeed, the paper conveys the impression that we have behavior and situations on the one hand and values that they threaten on the other. "Social problems are products of a dynamic society in which behavior changes more readily than the values that define it." This quotation, for me, is almost meaningless. All social action—the goals to which it is oriented and the means employed—is itself, in part, determined by the actor's values. What "changes" is not an autonomously evolving "behavior," but some aspect of the value system itself. Recognition of this fact shifts the stress from conflicts between behavior and values to conflicts within the value system, and it tends to shift the direction of inquiry to the determinants of values themselves and to inter-relationships among values.

The paper contains too exclusive an emphasis on change as *the* generator of social problems. It evokes pictures of behavior changing and values puffing along behind them, desperately trying to keep up—the old concept of culture lag. This notion fosters the conception of a social system as consisting of a number of relatively autonomous sectors changing at different rates; it deflects attention from study of the mutual determination of the parts of a system.

Every society presupposes a more or less generally accepted common-value system. But, first, behavior pursuant to those same most honored and most cherished values may produce,

perhaps as unanticipated and unintended consequences, those situations regarded as most deplorable and most problematical. Second, behavior pursuant to those same sacred institutions may produce, for persons at certain points within the system, situations of strain and tension to which they may respond by elaborating value-systems and even subcultures antithetical to those sacred institutions. And third, these deviant value systems and subcultures and these problem situations may be, in some cases at least, the necessary price or precondition, as it were, for the stability and preservation of the existing institutional order, rather than products of change. The most important trend, I think, in the study of social problems is the growing recognition that social problems are functions of the structure of a highly integrated total social system, not of a congeries of disunited parts growing at different rates.

Professor Merrill has rightly indicated the role of values in blocking solutions to social problems. An adequate appraisal of the current status of the study of social problems should also note that values block scientific study of those problems as well. One implication of my earlier remarks is that what we hold to be most ugly, sinful and sordid is in part consequence, in part condition of what we most value, cherish and esteem. A further disturbing implication is that some seemingly localized and uncomplicated problems may really be incapable of solution within the framework of the existing institutional order. We sociologists, being likewise citizens, tend to identify with that institutional order and to seek for the causes of social problems in factors which might be controlled or eliminated without impairing faith in the sanctity of our institutions or treading on the toes of vested moral, emotional or economic interests, or to seek them in factors which, though presumably uncontrollable, may be safely deplored without hurting the feelings of anybody, or at least of anybody whose feelings matter to us. This is one reason why we have been so slow to produce really penetrating analyses of the complex interdependence of social problems and the larger social system. This is an application of the sociology of knowledge different from that mentioned by Professor Merrill.

"Social problems and social disorganization," says Professor Merrill, "are complementary ways of describing the same thing." I think it premature to assume any such simple relationship between the two concepts. In a rough way, we know what we are talking about when we talk



about "social problems." We mean that a large number of people are very unhappy about some situation and would like to see something done about it. Generally speaking, we don't know what we mean by social disorganization; it is one of the fuzziest concepts in contemporary sociology. I think that the attempt to find a meaning for "disorganization," in contradistinction to "organization," has been prompted as much by a predilection for terminological symmetry as by an attempt to facilitate thinking, research and communication about things and events. If by "organization" we mean a system within which action is highly determinate, stable, predictable, and in which the functioning of each part is dependent upon that of every other part—and I think that we usually mean some such thing by it—then many social problems are normal and chronic incidents of highly organized systems.

Professor Merrill rightly stresses the importance of the investigation of the total setting or situation within which the behavior takes place. Certain implications of such investigations require amplification. Delinquency, psychosis, family conflict, etc., are functions of the structure of the total personality. The structure of the total personality is a function of the structure of the total situation. The total social situation for the actor includes his role positions in a system of social class stratification, a kinship system, an occupational system, systems of age and sex role differentiation, etc. That is, position in all these respects has important bearing on the determination of personality and conduct. But the import of each of these roles for action in turn depends on its relation to the other roles that constitute a social system. It follows, then, first, that the analysis of the total situation for any behavior, problem behavior or otherwise, involves analysis of the total social system, and that the total relevant situation includes much more than is suggested by even the better ecological and correlation studies. Second, this type of analysis and the ordering and interpretation of data from this point of view require a system of concepts more adequate to the task than the prevailing loose, unsystematic, *ad hoc* terminology.

#### DISCUSSION

Ernest R. Mowrer  
Northwestern University

Professor Merrill has presented us with an interesting, but an inconsistent and confusing

analysis of what constitutes a social problem. He begins his analysis by saying that a social problem has three aspects: (a) a measurable situation, (b) a threat to a social value, and (c) "a realization that a situation and the value may (theoretically) be reconciled by group action."

Of the three elements of the definition, I suppose all will agree with the second element, viz. that a social problem represents a social situation in which there is a threat to a social value. The third element is likewise readily acceptable if one does not place too much emphasis on the word "realization," since it usually follows that at least there is faith that something can be done to right the situation, if by no other process than enforcing conformance to the traditional social values.

When it comes to the first element, however, it is doubtful if capability of measurement is an essential requirement, and Merrill himself is not consistent upon this point. Thus, pre-marital sex relationships constitute a social problem and have not been counted, much less measured. The same may be said of racial discrimination. To assert that capability of measurement is one of the essentials can be maintained only by also asserting that everything can be resolved into some sort of quantitative representation, which begs the question. On the other hand, desertion is dismissed from the category of a social problem because of the difficulties involved in obtaining statistical data, and yet every social worker regards this as a social problem and quite rightly, since counts can, for all one knows, be had quite as accurately as of crimes. After all, our counts of crimes committed are of those known to the police, and because the counts are official does not clothe them with validity.

This brings one to the question of the framework within which Merrill is operating in his definition of social problems. Sometimes he seems to imply that to be a social problem the threat to a social value must be a matter of ready recognition, i.e., "coming to the attention of the bureaucratic process." Then he goes into an extended discussion of the operation of the unconscious in the production of social problems. How is one to know when there is an "unconscious realization that basic social values have been questioned"? May there not be a whole host of social problems operating in the unconscious about which we as yet have no light?

Furthermore, if one attempts a classification of social problems upon the basis of the social problems named, or implied by statements about



the basic social values in our culture, he comes out with something like this assortment: crime, mental derangement, divorce, murder, drunkenness, family disorganization, suicide, juvenile delinquency, commercialized vice, non-monogamous marriage, communism, totalitarianism, monarchy, atheism, Mohammedanism, premartial sex relationships, employment of women, racial discrimination, and the slum.

The essential difficulty is that what is or is not a social problem is essentially a subjective matter and has its origin in the spirit of reform. Every changing society produces its critics of the changing scene who view with alarm what to them represents divergencies in collective behavior from the traditional norm. This divergence, however, may be regarded as evidence of a changing social value since social values have their existence in the behavior of individuals. This historic movement in sociological analysis from the social problem to the social disorganization approach represented a realization of this basic defect in the former approach. What those who used the social disorganization approach failed to recognize was the need for more acute analysis of the content of the social.

Social disorganization is but the collective expression of personal disorganization since there is no collective organism. In a complex society no individual's personal organization is ever a duplication of the social organization of that society because social experience is selective and specialized. The inevitable result is variant behavior. This variant behavior proliferates in a wide variety of directions and a wide range of degrees. Some variant behavior is of such a character as to arouse little opposition because it either is so slight as to attract little attention, or it is connected with patterns of social change which have group approval. Other forms, while expressed within the context of social welfare, are not so readily accepted and lead to the formation of favorable audiences in the form of cults and sectarian organizations. Still other forms are hedonistically defined and express contempt for current social standards and find justification in a host of rationalizations. Finally, there are those forms which represent adjustments to a subjective world and insulate the individual from social life. The basic problem for sociologists, accordingly, is the understanding of the conditions which generate each of these forms of variant behavior. Given this understanding those who would initiate social action will be provided with the basic tools needed to accomplish their ends.

## DISCUSSION

Stuart A. Queen  
Washington University

First of all I propose a classification of social problems: (1) There is a type hardly indicated by Mr. Merrill's definition, although it is referred to later in his paper. It is that represented by situations in which there are *conflicting values*. For example, in a given situation citizens demand increasing services from government and, at the same time, lower taxes. They cling simultaneously to a belief in party responsibility and to a demand for efficient civil service. They demand freedom to speculate in commodities and stability of prices; absolute national sovereignty and international peace. Another set of conflicting values to which I shall return later involves, on the one hand, the notion that everyone should be attached to some locality, manifest in our eligibility to vote and to receive public assistance, and in our obligation to send children to school. On the other hand, we attach great importance to individual freedom to come and go as we please and to the economic necessity of a mobile labor supply. These are examples of social problems which involve conflicting values.

(2) We turn now to situations in which values seem to be more or less well established and accepted, but where there are *questions of policy and program* for maintaining or achieving the values. For example, in relation to our beliefs in universal education and personal mobility, we have the practical problem of what sort of program to adopt for the children of migratory workers. Should we provide boarding schools, travelling schools, home teachers, or some other scheme? Problems such as this are debated publicly and usually settled by some kind of legislation.

(3) Finally, there are more limited problems of an *administrative and technical* nature. For example, assuming the values and policies involved, just how shall transient youngsters be rounded up and put into whatever kind of schools are available for them? What adaptation of classroom methods needs to be made in order to teach such youngsters most effectively?

All these types of problems may appear in a society that is not seriously disorganized. They imply, of course, a bit of disorganization, but no one has yet proven that any society is completely free from disorganization.

(Perhaps what we need is an examination of the problems that appear in social groups at different points on a hypothetical continuum rang-

ing from the ideal-type "chaos" to the ideal-type "complete-integration." As we approach the latter we may expect to find a relatively small number of problems of any sort, and we may expect that most of those which do appear will be administrative and technical in character. As we approach the other end of the continuum we may expect to find many problems of all three kinds. This hypothesis seems to me worth investigating. In testing it we should learn something new about the role of values in different types of situations, about the kinds of behavior that are disturbing in different types of situations, and about the attempts at solution that appear in different types of situations.

Because Mr. Merrill has asked me to discuss *inter alia* "the ecological setting of social problems," I shall comment briefly on a type of inquiry related to human ecology on the one hand and to social disorganization on the other. For the moment I am using the term "ecology" with the over-simple meaning of study of distribution of social phenomena in time and space, changes that take place in the distribution, factors associated with such changes, and the processes that may be involved.

Suppose that we are interested in residential mobility and irregular school attendance as presumed manifestations of social disorganization. (1) Specifically I would start out by using some of the many available statistical series to locate areas, rural or urban, in which there are varying degrees of residential mobility and school attendance. (2) I would identify other factors likely to be associated with these two, positively or negatively. (3) I would then formulate some hypotheses as to possible relations between transiency, school attendance, and such other items as income, occupation, housing, health,

education of parents, delinquency, etc. (4) The initial testing of these hypotheses would be by statistical procedures, particularly the inter-correlation of the various statistical series. (5) I would then select local areas representing several points on the continuum which might be identified, ranging from regular school attendance, residential stability and related factors at one extreme to high residential mobility, poor school attendance and other factors at the opposite extreme. (6) I would study these areas as thoroughly as possible, digging up their history, consulting local informants, interviewing representative samples with schedules, and participating in the life of the districts. (7) At this point I would expect to restate my hypotheses in terms of the possible value systems in the various areas, the programs for control of conditions and behavior considered undesirable, and the apparent success or failure of such programs.

I would be particularly interested to learn whether in these diverse problem situations there would prove to be divergence in values, such as: (a) one well established system of values, (b) old values given lip service, but not recognized in practice, (c) conflicting values, (d) no generally recognized set of values. I would like to know whether these value complexes display any significant relation to the behavior involved in school attendance and residential mobility. I would then hope to have a basis on which to demonstrate the presence or absence of a significant relationship between social problems and social disorganization.

I believe that only through such specific studies as I have very sketchily outlined can we get beyond the endless theoretical discussions of social problems and social disorganization.

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SOCIOLOGY\*

W. REX CRAWFORD

*University of Pennsylvania*

FROM almost any point of departure one can in a few moments find one's self in the thick of an argument about the essential function and proper attitude of the sociologist. The present topic is no exception. The dark prophecies which begin, "We are living in an age when . . ." and conclude with a world that ends not with a whimper but with a bang, might easily pose for us the problem of what we are doing to save the world from imminent disaster.

The answer would not be inspiring. Neither does the world turn to our expertise nor do we urgently proffer our accumulated wisdom. Nowhere is the sociologist as sociologist in demand; geographers, international trade experts, nutrition and agriculture specialists, even people who know something about population, may be in the retinue of technical advisers, on tap but not on top—but not the sociologist. Even an Economic and Social Council turns out to be composed chiefly of representatives of the points of view of economics and social work, not understanding each other very well, I may add, and badly needing the mediation of some of our guild.

The case for our inclusion, both for the world's sake and our own, is strong. To hold the Key to Salvation and not to use it is hardly defensible. Now to hear the enthusiasts talk, mutual understanding, to be achieved through the comparative ethnology of civilized peoples, and the adjustment to one another of what are after all variants of the same great culture, is such a key. To speak less extravagantly, the cultural or sociological approach has a contribution to make to the composing of deep-lying differences between great power or international blocs. If there is still a ring of false Utopian-

ism about such a statement, we might settle for the more realistic one, that one can neither understand one's enemies well enough effectively to combat them, nor occupied countries well enough to attempt their management and reeducation with any hope of success without appealing to every specialist in societies and their relations. The knowledge needed to drop atomic bombs is one thing, and relatively easy to acquire; the knowledge, whether they will drop bombs on us, is harder and more important. Most important of all, is to know how to live successfully in a world of continuing tensions, propaganda, and cold wars.

Mr. Jacques Barzun in a recent address, in seeking to define the scholar, said that among other things, "he compels us to recognize that other peoples inhabit the earth, lays open to our view their ways and wills." This is at least the beginning of a discussion of the role of social scientists in the present world situation.

A few of us, notably few I may say, in comparison with the abundant representation of anthropologists, recently attended by invitation a national conference on world area studies, called by the SSRC committee on world areas. Only the economists, who hold their theoretical skirts clean from contamination with the mud of area and regional studies while at the same time asserting that they possess eternal and universal truth, were more conspicuous by their absence. Even those sociologists who were present seem to have developed their area interests almost by accident, and they did not speak in the name of sociology, nor was it expected that they should. In the meantime, anthropologists beat their breasts loudly and called attention to the fact that they had long been doing area studies, at least of smaller and more remote areas, and that it remained only to construct a more complicated equivalent of their activity to deal with the largest and most complicated societies, of course under their di-

\* Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in New York City, December 28-30, 1947.

rection and following as far as possible their proven methods, but calling in the aid of various specialists. It may be added that such claims called forth protestations from the geographers, who would desire us all just to read a little of the history of geography, to find out that regional studies were done, and theorized about, by geographers long before Mr. Tylor's science was dreamed of, and that they did all that anthropologists have since done, plus devoting a more adequate attention to the landscape in which their populations and cultures passed their lives, and by which they were influenced.

Our own published statements about our discipline, as well as the perspicuous demand of a few leaders of area studies, who perceive a need for us, to round out their pictures, forbid us to accept a position of detachment and disinterestedness.

Even if we have relinquished without much anguish the field of animal sociology, to restrict ourselves to human sociology, are we willing knowingly to go further? Do we not still claim to be developing a science of humanity? Are we ready except for expediency and as a compromise, to be the sociologists of American society only? For the sake of universalizing our own discipline and living up to our claims, as well as because of the utility of our contribution, to our own nation and to a wider community than that, can we do less than work toward a sociology of societies, and not of one society, a study of population that is world-wide, a migration that is not just Ellis Island and the Rio Grande, of the family in all its forms, of religious institutions everywhere and at all times, of cities, not just "our cities," of social change and mobility and stagnation and lack of mobility wherever they occur, and finally of contacts between societies and their results, past, present, and to come?

We are not, to be sure, the first men to walk on our hind legs. We know that Ross out-Gunthered Gunther, before Gunther was, that Ward sat on porches in Austria and corresponded with the learned everywhere, and that Sumner had an endless curiosity about strange things reported from all over the world. But still there is some difference be-

tween what they did, and what with some urgency it is proposed that we now do, or co-operate in doing. Is there not even a modicum of truth in the feeling that we have fallen into a lethargy of provincialism, with the decay of foreign study and of linguistic application, and the shorter period usually given to field work, with our complacent feeling that our science, whatever may be true of others, is incomparably better developed here than anywhere else, to the extent that we need not concern ourselves with anything but English language material, and without noticing that the corollary does not follow, with our own society and its institutions?

The few like Maurice Price who have long been pleading for a lifting of the eyes, and have been saying wise things about how it can be done, can smile a little ruefully at the current war-born, too-little and too-late flurry of interest.

To take on the task of knowing all the cultures, or even all the "major" cultures of the world may sound like a counsel of perfection and despair. What does one need to know? What actually can one propose as a task?

There are various levels, at least when one is talking of writing and teaching, even if in the field of research nothing but the new, the accurate, the scholarly, and most thoughtful is by definition acceptable. There is the level of general education, in secondary school and college, in which the minimum desideratum would be the awareness that others do inhabit the globe, and that they usually think they have a right to, and have the right ways of inhabiting it and governing the affairs of men. There is at the top, the level of the preparation of the scholar or the spy, the man who can continue to add to knowledge or can be the instrument of policy, moving with the confidence of complete assimilation and complete detachment through another culture than his own. Or if the suggestion of intelligence service be unacceptable, think of the harmonizers of divergent cultures, the makers of unities, of those who may some day learn to play with cultures and societies and to see to it



that their differences and their emotions about those differences do not destroy all civilized society and culture, and who in themselves achieve the complete assimilation and emotional sharing which when communicated to others by mimesis may lead us to that community of saints which is the culmination of today's best seller *Utopia and Way of Salvation*.

No one better than the sociologist understands how difficult this is, how next to impossible, how unutterably silly if you like, but does anyone have a sounder approach to the accomplishment of this impossible but necessary task?

At the opposite extreme from the critic who says it is only a dream is the stand-patter who feels that it is already done, or well enough done. It is difficult for me to accept the comfortable conviction of the latter. My own survey of Latin American teaching materials—for which, to be sure, I was soundly spanked—nevertheless demonstrated conclusively to me that a student might major in sociology at the undergraduate level (or in literature, philosophy or other social sciences), might take a graduate degree in sociology without having Latin American culture brought to his attention at all. If I may quote briefly from the conclusions of that study, which certainly reached the eyes of few sociologists:

... Their neglect of Latin America within the conventional subject-matter framework has been nearly complete, and is still extensive.

Ten leading recent works on social thought, all of which, judging by their titles, cover the social thought of the civilized world, were examined. Their omission of all mention of the sociologists, moralists, publicists of Latin America is difficult to justify from a pedagogical, and impossible from a scholarly, point of view. The major exceptions to this criticism are fourteen pages in a very extensive work—and these are done apparently without firsthand knowledge, and are quite inferior to other parts of the work in question—and one section in a reference work that cannot with propriety be classed as a textbook. In other words, an examination of the works which purport to tell the whole story of social thought, at least in modern times, reveals only one serious attempt at inclusion of Latin

American social theory and candor forces the admission that this attempt is not wholly successful.

The historians of thought in the related fields of politics, philosophy, and economics have been no more generous in their recognition of originality and merit in Latin American writers. . . .

The bare fact is that in the five commonly used books on the history of political thought (one of which, due to its coverage, has already been listed once under the heading, history of social thought), there appears only one reference to Latin America, a single sentence on the Pan American movement which belongs rather to the history of diplomacy than to political theory.

In seven books on the history of modern philosophy the same situation prevails. The latest edition of one long-famous work, and that alone, carries a brief mention of Latin American philosophy in which it is inadequately and erroneously summarized, and entirely from the point of view of European influence upon it. Another volume, useful for reference, includes a brief article evaluating a few major contemporary figures; the author himself considers the space allotted to Latin American philosophy insufficient. The other volumes of this group offer nothing about Latin American philosophy.

Ten histories of economic thought, all used in America, whether written by American authors or not, and covering the period from 1919 to the present, contain not a single line on any Latin American economist. . . .

There is nothing in the definition that sociology offers of itself as the science of society to warrant its common neglect of Latin America. One sociologist has said that for us South America is still the "dark continent"; except for an occasional borrowing of a map of the culture areas of the New World or a summary of a pre-Columbian culture, it would seem that we merit the criticism. Typically, the authors of one much-used text, in spite of a personal relation with Latin America on the part of one author, mention that area but three times, and once with a misspelling and a characterization (Chile, a largely Indian country) certain to give offense. No recent textbook in general sociology can compare with one older still in considerable use, in the number or sophistication of its references to Latin America, although even its author is inclined to give a one-sided picture comforting to our ethnocentrism. Another of a group of five leading texts in introductory sociology has a series of pages on Mayan, Aztec, and Peruvian



pre-Columbian cultures; still another attracts attention by adding to its neutral mention of the regions of the hemisphere and its admission of the unfortunately high infant mortality rate in a certain Latin American country, a forward-looking allusion to Mexico as worth the study of social and economic planners.

The student of the city as a social phenomenon should be equally interested in cities any time anywhere. The sociologists who have written on the subject, as judged by six samples, are generally North American. One, whose treatment is imaginative and creative, knows the history of European cities well, and refers to them frequently, but for Latin America includes only one reference to Mexico City. The student would never learn from the few statements about Latin America in two of these texts that São Paulo is the most rapidly growing city in the Western Hemisphere, or that interesting city planning has been done in Goiânia or Belo Horizonte and other Latin American centers.

Textbooks on rural sociology are justifiably, perhaps, more likely to discuss South Dakota than South America, but there is a tendency notably exemplified in one of the volumes to give extended discussion to the class struggle among agriculturists and to illustrate that struggle by the hacienda system in certain Latin American countries.

The growing number of students of population would seem to be forced by the nature of their subject matter to survey the relation of man to environment in all parts of the world and to know what is happening to population as a result of movement and growth. A survey of eight well-known books shows that this logical expectation is scarcely realized. One author approaches adequacy in this field; most of them are but little at home with Latin American data. The argument that valid data are not available is hardly a sufficient reply to our criticism for excellent and detailed work on population has been done by a writer who is not a sociologist.

In the field of social psychology it must be remembered that this term does not have the same connotations for us as for the Latin Americans, or indeed for most Europeans. They expect the social psychology of a people to be national psychology, to discuss their characteristic qualities and reaction patterns. Our social psychology is a rather abstract discipline in that it has little to do with this kind of national psychology; it could hardly be the first study of a Latin American who wished to learn what North Americans are like. If we fail to give

much help in an understanding of the reactions of members of our own society, it would be absurd to expect a richly realistic approach to a variant culture which few North American social psychologists have had occasion to know at firsthand. At any rate, four texts representative of a much larger number written in recent years have no reference or scanty reference to Latin America, except in the case of one which deliberately tested its generalizations about human nature by the use of much anthropological data. The volume in question deals with Latin America at some half dozen points but never with the white European population.

Our textbooks on criminology never mention scientific work or institutes in that field in Latin America. Indeed, the general picture which six textbooks in this subject would leave in the mind of the student is one of the criminality of the Mexican immigrant, and of Mexico and Cuba as homes of rum-running and smuggling. In one recent book, however, an author seems to delight in hitting at American prudery by repeated mention of the system of "conjugal visits" in Mexican prisons. (And recently Mr. Teeters has done much to fill the gap. If teachers and writers will peruse his *Penology South of Panama* the knowledge will eventually trickle down.)

A survey of seven textbooks used in that very American development, the course on the family, shows that their authors are primarily interested in our own problems, and if they wish contrast to American norms and behavior they find it among the Eskimo, in the Pacific, or in Central Africa. Their reference to Mexicans means Mexicans in our own Southwest, and Cuba and Mexico appear on their pages merely as places of easy divorce for citizens of the United States. The only treatment at all adequate of the Latin American family in any of these books is a seven-page passage in a recent composite volume, and even there the material is entirely secondhand.

The literature of social problems either entirely neglects Latin America or limits itself to a naïve reference to a difference in drinking habits. Eleven books on social pathology, disorganization, social problems, social institutions, yield nothing more. The only exception to be noted here is the books on migration, which treat that subject not as a mere domestic problem but as a world-wide phenomenon. In one of the two books on this subject, the author has done all that can be done by summarizing statistics and statute law, and he has summarized

immigration to Latin America in one chapter of 16 pages. The problems of assimilation of the European immigrant in Argentina and Brazil have not yet been tackled by any serious North American student, but Emilio Willems has been strongly influenced by our concepts and methods in his volume on assimilation and marginal peoples in Brazil. The indispensable work of an American sociologist, resident in Brazil, on the Negro in one part of that country is a highly meritorious piece of research and popularization which should be followed many times over. Out of such studies might come eventually the much needed general treatment of the social problems of Latin American countries.

If we divide world areas into Far East, Near East, India and Southeast Asia, Africa, Europe, Latin America and the Soviet Union, who can doubt that a more or less similar critical picture would emerge for most of them?

The opportunities for service, achievement and perhaps even prestige from a confrontation of sociology with its world-wide task seem boundless. As one indication of a path that offers its fascination and profit to the right person, I may mention a possible research fellowship in analysis of the social process in occupied zones which so far as I know is going begging.

The interpretation of other cultures to Americans is not the only task; indeed, the members of such cultures might have their doubts as to the unique competence of Americans for such a job, and point to the last refuge of ethnocentrism in the breast of the scientist who believes that only he and his countrymen were anointed by God for the task of studying ethnocentrism and its manifestations. The interpretation of our culture to the rest of the world, in the interest of better understanding and more friendly relationships, in short, the job of public relations, not for a business and industry or a movie star, but for the United States, would seem to be a natural for sociologists. In practice it has not worked out that way. Who could be better to send to represent a culture than a specialist in cultures, who might be expected to have some appreciation of probable reactions? But neither as practitioners in the art of mutual interpretation nor as

students of the impact of one civilization have we done much; we have left it to Heindel and Toynbee.

Lest mere bad temper color the picture too much, let me hasten to make amends by noting very recently an encouraging and increasing amount of articles on population in Japan, the family in India, the basic culture pattern common to Latin America, race, religion, etc., in Brazil, all soundly based on research by American sociologists and revealing sound understanding. By all means, let there be more of this, and of support for field studies to make it possible.

The political aspect I may seem to have neglected, in part because I hope it will be undertaken by some who realize that discussion of sovereignty and administration and constitutions are not enough, and in part because it is our very contribution that we do not permit the political to be separated from the larger cultural whole of which it is a part and an expression. There are concrete contributions that sociology and social anthropology might make, or might have made, which would help a needy world. Could we agree that one may not expect perfect success in setting up an international organization largely on the model of the political institutions of one component part, and that the embodiment of as much as possible of the cultural and political traditions of the various peoples expected to enter it would help to bring success?

Carl Taylor pleads for down to earth studies of other peoples and cultures, affirming that no group of sciences has more to contribute than sociology and anthropology, and that they can help with the shame of a nation that has unexampled power and has not increased its knowledge equally fast, so that, in his words, "perhaps none among the powerful nations of the world has less understanding of other people than we."

Professor Callis suggests two steps in his valuable article on the Sociology of International Relations (*American Sociological Review*, June 1947): (1) Research into national structures and values; (2) Ways and means of adjusting national cultures to each other. This means finding what Northrop

calls a common denominator in ideology, in values, and ultimately in law and education. Here again we know how difficult this is because of the integration of cultures and the tenacity with which their values are held. But it is a vision of a sociology progressing beyond the empirical and the limited to the realization of its broadest definition, and simultaneously maximizing its service to a parlous world, that challenges our imaginations.

The comparison of that challenge with what most of us shall probably be doing—reading a book now and then on some area that is in the news, asking a few questions of a foreign student, taking a cruise and coming back cheated by the “natives,” offering a survey course on “The Cultures of the World,” which would be far from satisfying the aims of the leaders of world area study—all of this may be disheartening, but it should not surprise a sociologist (who may be defined as the man who cannot be surprised). Shall we leave him here, to decide for himself with the aid of folk wisdom, whether a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, or every little bit helps?

#### DISCUSSION

Raymond Kennedy  
*Yale University*

The main speaker on this program has made the point, with which all of us who know the situation must agree, that sociologists are not “in demand” by governmental and other organizations dealing with political and international affairs. He has rightly asserted that, by contrast, specialists in such “practical” disciplines as economics, political science, social work, and agriculture are sought after by these bodies, at least for technical advice. Later on in his remarks, he considered the situation of anthropologists in this regard, and disposed of them with the statement that, at a recent national conference on world area studies, “anthropologists beat their breasts and called attention to the fact that they had long been doing area studies,” wherefore they should take a leading part in the future development of such studies. But he did not go on to tell what is as true of anthropologists as of sociologists. Beat their breasts as they may, anthropologists are as little “in demand” by organizations having

to do with political and international affairs as are sociologists. In short, the neglected social sciences in national and international administration and planning are both sociology and anthropology.

Why is this? The obvious answer is that there is as yet no widespread or even appreciable realization (except among sociologists and anthropologists themselves) that national and international problems are cultural as well as economic and political. And the reason for this, in turn, is that these two sciences have yet to prove by their work and its products that they really have much to offer to the investigation and solution of national and international problems. The relevance of the cultural approach to these problems has not been recognized because it has not been demonstrated.

The fact that sociology and anthropology happen to find themselves together outside the pale of acceptance by bodies wielding prestige and power in national and international affairs causes no surprise to one reared in the tradition of Sumner. To Sumner and those of us who have followed the path he explored, sociology and anthropology are but subdivisions of a single general field of study, which he liked to call the “science of society.” As we see it, the line between the two divisions is one of convenience for the sake of specialization: anthropology taking as its focus of attention primitive or simpler societies and cultures, sociology concentrating upon the more complex or historical and modern societies and cultures. The approach is the same, the purposes are the same, and the only real difference appears in the methods and techniques which must sometimes be employed in dealing with the one as against the other kind of society and culture. Even so, the methods and techniques developed by either anthropology or sociology are often—indeed, I would say generally—useful in the other of the two specialities. For example, the excellence of the “Middletown” studies of the Lynds is largely owing to the combination of the use of the culture-pattern concept, taken from anthropology, and the quantitative methods of sociology. And so, as far as I am concerned, in our discussion of the question before us we should consider sociology and anthropology together, even though, as I shall indicate, their accomplishments and shortcomings in dealing with political and international problems are not the same.

Now I can revert to the reason I gave for the neglect of these twin sciences by the powers

that be. It was that there is no general realization that national and international problems are cultural, just as much as they are economic and political, because sociologists and anthropologists have not demonstrated that this is so. To be specific, the economists and political scientists have been very active and successful in spreading the idea that international conflicts are, in essence, caused by economic competition and struggles for political power between nations. Statesmen, military authorities, journalists, and the so-called informed public all have become accustomed to using such terms as spheres of influence, balance of power, competition for markets, collectivism, totalitarianism, and even geopolitics and *Realpolitik*. But we do not find any general comprehension or acceptance of such sociological and anthropological concepts as ethnocentrism, accommodation, assimilation, culture pattern, mobility, culture lag, culture area, ethos, value, ideal pattern, and intercultural adjustment. Even the notion of the differentiation of institutions is rarely understood, so that, for example, there is a persistent confusion of communism and totalitarianism, or capitalism and democracy, whereby, in each instance, a term for a type of economic system becomes virtually identified with a term for a kind of political organization. Do Americans object to economic communism or political totalitarianism, or both? Are Russians opposed to economic capitalism alone, or to political democracy as well? That there is a groping for the idea of culture pattern is shown by the constant talk about "our way of life"; but here the effort ends in vagueness. And here is where sociology should be able to offer definition, precision, and a standard of values.

If our failure to gain acceptance is due to our lack of accomplishment, then we should try to find out exactly what our shortcomings have been in the sphere of international relations. So far as the study of world societies and cultures is concerned, I should say that anthropology has achieved rather remarkable success within a limited scope. We have a vast mass of knowledge about primitive cultures everywhere. If you want to find out about the African, Asiatic, Oceanian, or Latin American "foreign areas," anthropology can give you information in great detail—but only for the primitive peoples of these regions. The anthropologist can describe minutely the culture of a tribe of South American Indians, but ask him about modern Argentina and you will draw a blank. He can even supply you with a wealth of source material

about Lapp culture in Europe, but he can offer nothing about Germany. He knows a lot about the Indians of the United States, but he is little better than a "native informant" about his own American culture. To make the point even more strongly, it often seems that the more primitive the culture the better the anthropological knowledge about it. For example, in the East Indies I find an amazingly complete literature on the relatively isolated and primitive Batak tribe; but the civilized Javanese, numbering in the millions, have been very inadequately studied. In short, anthropology has left the great peoples and cultures of the world—the Chinese, Germans, Russians, French, British, Americans, and the like—virtually untouched.

This need not, however, be taken as direct criticism, for anthropology has confined itself traditionally to the study of primitive culture. Rather does it point to a failure of sociology, which is supposed to concentrate upon historical and modern complex societies and cultures. What has sociology done? Here the record is a sorry one, and it explains why, at the recent conference on world area studies to which the principal speaker alluded, so few sociologists were present. By and large, European sociologists, of whatever nationality, have done almost no investigation of their own cultures, or of advanced American or Asiatic cultures. They have been mostly theoreticians, with strong philosophical and metaphysical tendencies. The American sociologists, on the other hand, have a much better record of empirical research in modern culture; but they have almost never moved outside their own country to do this research. In fact, interest and activity in modern American ethnology—regional and community studies on the cultural level—have been steadily and swiftly increasing. Here, I think, we may see the way out of our present difficulty. To put it briefly: there is a growing body of American sociologists trained and experienced in research in modern culture; their field of investigation has been confined to the United States, with a very occasional foray into Latin America or Canada or even Ireland; but now it may be possible for them to spread abroad and apply their knowledge, skill, and experience to the study of the complex societies and cultures of Europe, Asia, and other foreign areas. If their efforts are successful, this may lead the sociologists of Europe and the future sociologists of Asia, Africa, and elsewhere to follow them, until eventually we may have a body of scientific knowledge about modern



cultures, all over the world, to match the accumulation of information on the primitive cultures of the earth which has been gathered by the anthropologists.

If this is done on the national level, then a real sociology of international relations will surely emerge; for it is lack of knowledge about the various different national cultures which has impeded—indeed, made virtually impossible—a valid intercultural or international sociology. As a matter of fact, the two can go along together, and, as scientifically validated studies of, say, the German, the Russian, the French, and the British ethose or culture patterns come forth, progressive syntheses of these results can be worked out.

Perhaps this is a utopian scheme—a possibility considered by the principal speaker—but if so, then there is no hope for us in politics and international relations. If it can be accomplished, then no longer will economics and political science and history have a monopoly on authoritative pronouncements concerning national and international affairs. My own feeling is that a large reason why these disciplines have been able to achieve so much in this sphere is, not only because they have been working longer in it, but also because they work on a simpler and more superficial level than do sociology and anthropology. The materials they use are mostly written records, and their task is mainly one of selection, compilation, and interpretation. They seldom have to deal directly with living people and communities, or with such intangible and shifting matters as ideals, prejudices, social classes, and religious beliefs. Their data are factual and largely measurable, such as export and import statistics, laws, treaties, and geographical boundaries. To give one example of the contrast: it would be much easier to write a definitive economic treatise on the international trade of all Southeast Asia than to do a valid and complete sociological study of the culture of a single national group in the area, such as the Annamese, or even of a single Annamese community.

Sociological research in modern complex cultures can be done to some extent by investigation of written records—historical, political, economic, and even journalistic and literary. Indeed, the literature of a modern nation is one of the immediately available sources of the national ethos. One must be judicious in using literary sources, but, combined with other materials, they are sociologically valuable. As a matter of fact, any elaborate cultural research

project on a modern nation should begin with a thorough examination of the recorded data. Out of the mass of published material, a sociologist can winnow a considerable amount of culturally relevant information. He will have to interpret it, using his sociological perspective and insight, in somewhat the same manner as an anthropologist uses the folklore of primitive tribes. Much of the early anthropological work, which gave a foundation and direction to later research, was done by such men as Spencer, Frazer, Lippert, and Morgan, who combed the writings of missionaries, explorers, and colonial administrators for data on primitive cultures. Some years ago, I tried the experiment of giving a graduate seminar on modern European cultures, and in preparation for it I worked up a bibliography of sources containing information of at least a fair degree of sociological significance. Selecting mainly material in English, German, French and Dutch (the languages I knew well), but including a fair sprinkling of Italian and Spanish titles, I soon gathered around two thousand references. The effort proved to my satisfaction that a mass of published information on modern European cultures is available; and it was also useful in indicating where the largest gaps were.

Research in the published materials on modern complex cultures is merely a beginning, however, for anyone who has tried it finds that the available information leaves more to be desired than to be had. What is much more needed, what is in fact desperately lacking, is organized field research in advanced societies and cultures, employing the techniques and methods of modern sociology. And that leads me to my final point. Ideally, I suppose, field research in modern complex cultures should be carried on by teams of social scientists. If, for example, the country selected were Holland, the team would include—besides a sociologist—an economist, a political scientist, an anthropologist, and perhaps a geographer and a historian. In a complicated country such as Yugoslavia, where the languages and dialects are important regional and sub-regional cultural factors, the services of a linguist would be desirable. In the foreign area with which I am myself directly concerned, Southeast Asia, an anthropologist and a sociologist would be an ideal minimum team, for the cultural picture there is like a checkerboard of primitive and complex societies, all intermixed and interacting. But the leader of any such team as here envisioned should, in my opinion, be a sociologist; and if there can be no team, and



the research must be done by a single person, then my choice among the different kinds of social scientists would be a sociologist. This is, perhaps, an expression of personal and professional bias, but to my mind sociology is, of all the social sciences, the most comprehensive and versatile.

American sociologists, in particular, have demonstrated their ability to do the kind of empirical research in modern cultures which we have in mind here, but they have worked almost exclusively in their own country. The time has come, if our science is to prove its importance in politics and international relations, to extend our interest and activity to other parts of the world. In this way we may be able to stimulate similar research among the sociologists of other nations—even have some of them investigate what is to them a "foreign area," the United States—and thus achieve international scientific cooperation and mutual sociological enlightenment on a level never before attained. International problems are intercultural—not merely economic and political—and if we are to validate our claim that sociology is the science of society and culture we must demonstrate our ability to deal with these problems and to contribute toward their solution.

### DISCUSSION

C. Wright Mills  
*Columbia University*

The sociologist may relate himself to international affairs as a student of comparative societies; as an expert advisor of powerful actors involved in deals now being made between governments; and as an independent political intellect searching for orientation in a world of seemingly permanent war.

Professor Crawford's major point is that as students of society many U. S. sociologists are provincial. His minor point is that sociologists are not in much demand as expert advisors or statesmen. He does not consider the sociologist as independent political intellect. With his major point I am in complete agreement. I think his statement of the minor point is somewhat politically shortsighted. And I shall argue that his minimizing of the sociologist as political thinker is unfortunate, although the most penetrating comment in his paper is that the sociologist does "not permit the political to be separated from the larger cultural whole of which it is a part. . . ."

What I should like to do is relate the prob-

lems of a comparative sociology and those of the sociologist as a world expert to the prevailing political acquiescence among not only sociologists but among the practitioners of U.S. social science in general.

### THE COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGIST

Professor Crawford has covered well the lack of concern of members of our discipline with comparative sociology. We have lost touch with the grand tradition of sociology, which such men as Comte, Spencer, and Weber carried so well, the tradition of taking great cultural and historical wholes as the unit of our understanding. The career of the young sociologist is now so oriented towards microscopic studies of historically irrelevant topics in U. S. society that it is possible, indeed it is so, that a man can get a doctorate degree in sociology without knowing the slightest thing about the shape of Byzantine bureaucracy, or of the current Russian state system, or of the character of Nazism as a social structure. Indeed there are many full professors in American Sociology who would be completely floored by simple questions about these social structures.

Anthropologists have taken a broader view but mainly of narrower areas. They have focussed upon cultures that are unimportant in world history: they have seemed to prefer, until quite recently, to examine only the backwash of world affairs, although they promise now to consider, *e.g.*, Southeast Asia instead of some isolated singular island.

But two things seem to imperil the work of the social scientists today when he takes up comparative tasks: (1) his study is likely to be oriented towards becoming an expert adviser of statesmen, (2) he is likely to study culture without any explicit consideration of the world issues of power.

1. The career chances of the comparative sociologist set him on those problems that will be of factual aid to what passes as the political orientation of U. S. statesmen. In this respect, he moves from provincialism to nationalism, rather than from provincialism to a genuinely world standpoint. I do not think that a comparative sociology worthy of the name of science can be carved out by sociologists who are always on the lookout for the main chance with the current run of statesmen.

2. What they are likely to do is to talk of culture without talking of the power aspects of world culture. Simple notions of cultural diffusion, drawn from observations of plains

Indians do not seem to be very useful in a world of tight national boundaries. "Peoples" do not "adjust" to one another; their relations are determined by decisions on political policies by statesmen. The point is that culture today does not proceed by anthropological growth, as much as by power decisions made by national elites; culture has become an object of bureaucratic manipulation, and "understandings between peoples" are merely public relations gestures made half seriously by competing statesmen.

#### THE EXPERT

The expert is a man with learning but without power who advises a man who has power but who feels he is without learning. Mr. Crawford complains that sociologists do not get the chance to be experts; I should, on the contrary, complain that those of them who are interested in comparative sociology are often a little too thoughtlessly anxious to become experts.

The only people whom I can see for the comparative sociologist to advise are powerful men who are now caught up in a power situation that moves them towards war. How would the sociologist help those men? They would end up, it seems to me, (1) providing information about war potentials and psychological resistances of various peoples of the world to the administrators of warfare. As Mr. Crawford implies, their knowledge would be used for psychological warfare upon enemy peoples, and as psychological aids to the administrator of the cultures of conquered peoples. (2) They would also provide nationalist public relations men with materials of use in propagandizing American culture to those in enemy and backward areas. In doing so they would talk of culture, in the liberal anthropological manner: without explicit policy reference. If that were so, it seems to me they would obscure to themselves and others what is happening in and to world culture.

Rather than their becoming involved in these ways I should prefer more autonomy of function for the social scientist of world affairs.

Political retreat now, in the hope of the coming experts for any side of the struggle that is now coming up, is tantamount to cynicism as political men and capitulation as free intellects. The expert is free as a man and as an intellect only to the extent that his masters allow him to be free, and no more. Should we not, then, now above all else, struggle to keep open-ended ideas alive, rather than become the experts for one or the other of the closed political alternatives?

I should hate to see the sociologists of comparative society surrender their chance to be political orienters for the sake of careers as experts for power politicians. The internationalism of science is now more needed than ever, it seems to me; but to the extent that sociologists become slanted in their work and as men to becoming experts, they lose the chance to create a third camp of science. I am for the university as a permanent third camp in world affairs rather than as a cradle from which retinues of experts are drawn at will by statesmen.

To be sure, such a position would seem to restrict the power, which the expert often believes he has; it would restrict the prestige and the experience he gains as an expert, but no one should believe that careful statements issued from the university as a third camp, as a world intelligence center for the people, would be powerless. The need of statesmen for experts in a world where the areas of required perception are vast and complicated should be evident. Observe the U. S. Army and Navy scurry after physicists and observe the fright of the authorities when atomic scientists even threaten effective organization. We are not so important in this world, but a concerted withdrawal of social intelligence from a modern government would not be an idle nor a powerless gesture.

#### THE POLITICAL THINKER

To be responsible as a political thinker, or even to retain integrity as an expert, demands competence and objectivity of the highest order as comparative sociologists. It means to see the relations of world power to specific cultural wholes and, since culture is the seed-bed of personality, it means to trace the effect of political decisions of the order now being made upon the types of men who are to predominate as inhabitants of this earth.

I cannot here, of course, even begin to lay out the major issues of world affairs on which men require sociological orientation. But at the risk of appearing dogmatic—since there is no time to state matters slowly and accompanied by their fuller justifications—I should like to outline some assertions and questions which confront the sociologist—I should rather say, the intellectual—as a political thinker.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These questions were worked out in several discussions between Louis Clair, Irving Sanes, and myself; I wish to thank them for allowing me to use them here in a modified and fragmentary way, prior to our joint publication in the magazine, *Politics*.

1. War is no longer a struggle for pieces of the earth but for the earth itself. The late war, as Harold Isaacs has said,<sup>2</sup> "did not decide the issue of human progress but the identity of the main protagonists . . . the globe is crushed in helpless agony between two super-nationalist entities . . . in so far as they represent different social and economic systems, the issue is fraudulent because neither is pregnant with any decent promise for mankind. . . . Between (them) . . . the peoples of the earth are caught in a condition of permanent war."

2. The great question is whether we are yet come to an inevitable choice between them: Will there be a *political interlude* between the late war and the war that seems to be coming up? If there is not, and especially if there is not inside the United States, then our free political function as social scientists is terminated. War means an end to really free work in social science. Only between wars are there political interludes during which free ideas might become relevant to the turn of affairs.

Do we *really* have *already* to choose? Or, is not Sartre correct when he asks so wisely, ". . . who forces us to choose? Is it really by choosing between totalities simply because they are given, and by going over to the stronger, that one makes history? Or, on the contrary, is it not rather that historic action is never reduced to a choice between given realities . . . ?" Is it not our political job, as social scientists, alerted to world affairs, to refuse to capitulate, as experts, to frozen political alternatives which lead to war, and to address ourselves to a third camp of the intellect, to project its image of world culture and to seek ways by which it might be constructed?

3. If we refuse to choose between the two camps into which the world is being polarized for war, and if we try to find a way of enlarging the political interlude between wars, then should we not in that interlude recognize that the center of world political initiative is now the United States? If that is so, then a grave responsibility is imposed upon us as a vanguard of world citizenship. I think that it is so. Western Europe is incapable of political initiative; what happens in Europe, clutched in the squeeze play, is more a result of what Russia and the United States do, than what any power on the peninsula of Europe tries to do. Unlike Russia, the United States emerged from the late war with produc-

tive facilities intact and potential greatly increased. The chance of men who would act for economic and political freedom, no matter how small and difficult, and perilous is still larger in the United States, a parliamentary democracy than in Soviet Russia, a totalitarian state. And power gained in America, when harnessed to the idea, will count for more because of the industrial weight of this country in foreign affairs.

4. If America is the center of world political initiative—the place of decision for what the cultures of the world will be like a quarter of a century from now—then, can we trust, can we believe, that those who are now deciding for America will make the decisions that will avoid war and build a world of peace and freedom and security? And if our answer is no—and that is my answer—then should we not consider how the distribution of power within the United States might be decisively modified. Is not that question now the key to world politics which we as politically alert social scientists should figure out how to turn? The only way for us to try and create new alternatives for European, and for world culture, is to try and create new political choices within the political economy of the United States of America.

## DISCUSSION

John W. Gardner  
*Carnegie Corporation of New York*

In discussing collaboration between the social science disciplines, I find it useful to divide the fields into two groups. On the one hand there are the fields of sociology, social psychology, and anthropology. These three fields have made real progress toward interdisciplinary collaboration. On the other hand there are political science, history, economics, and the related field—the still pretty amorphous field—of international relations. These fields too have made important strides toward collaboration among themselves. The great rift in the social sciences today is *between these two groups*.

Every thoughtful person who has taken a serious look at the whole range of the social sciences is convinced that great gains will come from what has been called the "interpenetration of the social sciences." Now the point I wish to make is that in attempting to accomplish this interpenetration, the greatest problem—and I think personally the greatest promise of exciting gains—lies in bridging the gap between sociology, anthropology, and psychology on the

<sup>2</sup>H. R. Isaacs, "South Asia's Opportunity," *Modern Review*, December, 1947.

one hand and history, political science, economics, and international relations on the other.

The topic for today's panel has to do with the bridging of this gap. I should like to take just a little liberty with the topic as assigned, and talk not just in terms of sociology but in terms of sociology, social psychology and cultural anthropology. I see no clear boundaries between these fields, and I assume that the practitioners in each field will in the years ahead become less and less distinguishable from those in the neighboring fields.

I think that there are a variety of contributions which sociology, psychology, and anthropology can make to the field of international relations. Consider the problem of method. For the most part, the field of international relations has taken its methodology from the historians. No one would wish to deny that the methods of the historian have their importance and their place. But they have, from our point of view, most serious limitations in dealing with certain sorts of data. This will become clear to you if you examine the current literature on international affairs. Vast amounts of energy are expended in *narrative accounts* of what happened at a given time and place. Methodological standards are chiefly useful in producing more and more scrupulously *accurate narratives*, so that what you work toward is a sort of highly scrupulous, highly literate journalism. Now this is a perfectly respectable pastime, but I think most of us would regard it as placing a rather low ceiling on methodology in the social sciences.

The up-to-date sociologist or social psychologist is driven by his training to take a very different point of view. In the first place, he is constantly seeking to arrive at certain generalizations concerning group behavior. It always sounds a little pompous to say that we are trying to arrive at "universal laws" governing human behavior in groups—pompous because we have made only the most modest advance in that direction. Nonetheless, that is exactly what we are trying to do, and regardless of the degree of success, the very effort colors our whole approach. It helps us, for example, to avoid the sins of indiscriminate data collecting, and forces us to attempt the development of a conceptual structure within which we can order our data. It leads us to set up hypotheses concerning relationships between the variables with which we are dealing, and to test these hypotheses through systematic observation and investigation. It leads us to constant reshaping of our conceptual schemes as we find our hypotheses

faulty. And finally, it leads us to a constant search for more effective methods of gathering and processing the data by which we test our hypotheses.

I think that we would all readily admit that in terms of our aspirations the results of this striving have been very modest; but I am sure we would all argue stubbornly that in the course of the struggle we have developed methods which have enriched the social sciences.

In order to describe another sort of contribution which the sociologist, social psychologist and anthropologist can make to international relations let me turn to the field of area studies. The term *area study* describes an interdisciplinary approach to problems of understanding a given world area. Area study programs are a relatively new development in the study of international relations, and to my mind they represent precisely that point at which sociologists can best contribute to the international relations field. The "area approach" is made to order for sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists. In fact, men from these disciplines would find it hard to understand how the field of international relations has survived as long as it has without area studies. They would find it difficult to believe that anyone could ever have seriously entertained the hope of understanding international affairs without understanding the social and cultural contexts out of which various sorts of national behavior develop. This is so obvious to the sociologist that it hardly needs emphasis. Yet many experts in the field of international relations are still not entirely sensitive to the importance of area studies, and apparently still believe that you can understand the "relations" between two countries without an intensive study of the countries themselves.

This is a misconception which the sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists are well fitted to correct. I believe that the most effective contribution which men from our fields are likely to make is the insistence that international relations constitute a form of group behavior; that the groups involved are living, functioning, societies; and that unless one understands the social forces operating in these societies one will not understand the particular aspect of group behavior labeled international relations.

Much of the literature on international affairs leaves one with the impression that the world is little more than a series of chancelleries, a small group of heads of state, foreign ministers, and generals who play out the drama of international relations in terms of certain traditional



ambitions and power relationships which history has handed them. I know that this is something of a caricature, but back of the caricature is a real distortion of emphasis. And it is a distortion which the sociologist is peculiarly fitted to correct. He will insist that one cannot evaluate the behavior of a country without understanding the social institutions and societal structure of that country. He will want to know, for any given country, what social institutions permit the rise of certain types of leadership; what there is in the myths, the needs, and the frustrations of a people that makes it possible for their leaders to manipulate them in certain directions; why they ignite in explosive support of certain causes and remain indifferent to other causes. And so forth. These questions could be elaborated endlessly. The point is that the sociologist will want to know how much of the behavior of the nation on the international scene can be regarded as a more or less inevitable outcome of social forces at work within the country. (And lest I seem to have spoken lightly of the field of history, let me point out that in pursuing this question the sociologist is likely to find that his strongest and surest allies will be the historians.)

Now the point that interests me, or perhaps I should say the point that perplexes me, is this: in the field of area study, which is interdisciplinary by its very nature, you will find linguists, geographers, historians, philosophers, ethnobotanists and others, but almost no sociologists or social psychologists. This is understandable when one considers the stubbornness with which most sociologists and social psychologists have ignored the rest of the world in the recent past; but why it should continue to be the case in a day when every graduate student recognizes the importance of cross-cultural study is quite beyond me. The rapidly developing field of area studies offers the perfect invitation for sociologists and social psychologists to come out of their cultural shell. I think that they should accept the invitation.

#### DISCUSSION

Paul E. Smith

*U. S. Office of Education*

For this opportunity to discuss with you some of the projects and activities involving the exchange of students, teachers and professors in which the U. S. Office of Education is currently engaged, I am grateful. May I outline the programs involving the students so that we might

have a backdrop against which I may place some people that are significant, and so that I may ask some questions.

In 1936 at Buenos Aires, accredited representatives of the American Republics gathered to discuss ways of bringing the peoples of various nations closer together. One of the outcomes of the meeting was the Convention of Inter-American Cultural Relations which provided for the annual exchange of two graduate students from each signatory nation. The Convention included conditions of application, selection, value of the fellowship, and other related details.

Since the beginning of the program about 160 different students had come to the United States by September, 1947. That a larger number has not come is due to the fact that the fellowships may be renewed for a second year, and renewals have occurred in many instances where the student's academic record warranted and where the type of training he received required a longer period of time for its completion.

Although all of the signatory States have sent students to the United States, not all of them have been financially able to receive our students. Nevertheless, between 1939 and 1942, approximately 30 graduate students from the United States went to 11 American Republics to pursue graduate study or research. As a result of World War II, graduate students from the United States were not sent to Latin America under the Convention after December, 1942, although we continued to receive students from those countries. It is hoped that the reciprocal part of the program will be resumed in 1948.

What have these exchanges meant to the individuals, to their countries, and, indeed, to the world? Would that I could answer this question now! I can, however, give partial answers because I know some of the outcomes. In Panama, for example, the young man who was trained in library science at the University of Chicago is now the Director of the National Library of Panama. He has enlarged the library service to the country so that his people can get books. Not only does he include bookmobiles but boatmobiles in his efforts to reach people in inaccessible places. For those who have their eyes on the export account, I can assuage their misgivings by indicating that the air-conditioning equipment for the National Library of Panama is labeled "Made in U.S.A." The \$10,000,000 worth of library equipment bears a similar mark, and I rather suspect that one would discover on hasty inspection that the

bookmobiles will be a well-known product of Detroit.

See 4GF  
p-266

In Chili the directoress of the program to revise the curriculum for the secondary schools is a Ph.D. from Columbia University. The first assistant is a former Buenos Aires Convention student who was also trained in one of our universities.

In Brazil one of the most promising young nuclear physicists was awarded his Ph.D. at Princeton only two years ago. Of the students now here, one of the leaders in higher mathematics at one of our leading universities is a young Buenos Aires Convention student from Mexico.

So the roll goes: here is a pediatrician trained at the University of Chicago; there a gastroenterologist who worked at the University of Pennsylvania; here a dentist from Northwestern; there a home economist from Indiana State Teachers College. In addition to these there are government officials, hospital directors, professors of mathematics, history, literature, welfare workers, teachers of the handicapped, road builders, economists, agriculturists, customs officials—all trained in our colleges and universities.

Another program involving graduate students from Latin America is that designed to supplement the work of United States private agencies in bringing highly selected students to this country. The Government has asked the Institute of International Education to operate and administer this activity which has been going on since 1943.

These Latin American students apply through local selection committees established in each Latin American country. Usually the Cultural Officer in our Embassy serves on the committee. After an initial screening process, applications are forwarded to the Institute of International Education. The Institute then recommends those deemed best qualified for grants to the Office of Education which approves or disapproves the grant. These fellowships are considered to be supplementary in nature, supplementing either personal funds, a tuition scholarship from a college or university, or a grant from some other source.

During the current academic year 112 students from the other American Republics are receiving aid in one form or another to continue their studies in our institutions of higher learning. They are studying in many disciplines and are making, as those who came before them, enviable records.

As I mentioned before in connection with the Buenos Aires Convention program, United States students will again have an opportunity in 1948 for study and research in the other American Republics which signed the Convention. There is an additional project which affords a similar opportunity for our students because each year for the past three years the Government has made a limited number of grants to U. S. students who could continue their work in any Latin American country.

Opportunities for United States students, teachers, and professors were expanded tremendously when the 79th Congress enacted Public Law 584, now known more familiarly as the Fulbright Act. This law authorizes the Department of State to employ foreign currencies and credits obtained through the sale of surplus war materials to other nations of the world for programs of student, teacher and professor interchange. Only foreign currencies and credits may be used for this purpose and a maximum of 20 million dollars may be set aside by each participating nation to be spent over a period of 20 years.

The Department of State has been negotiating agreements with 22 nations. These nations and the prospective sums indicated by each to be utilized in this educational exchange over a 20-year period are as follows:

Australia .....	\$ 5,000,000
Austria .....	750,000
Belgium .....	3,000,000
Czechoslovakia .....	6,000,000
Denmark .....	3,000,000
Egypt .....	3,000,000
Finland .....	5,000,000
France .....	5,000,000
Greece .....	8,000,000
Hungary .....	5,000,000
Iran .....	2,000,000
Italy .....	20,000,000
Netherlands .....	5,000,000
Netherlands East Indies .....	7,000,000
Poland .....	8,000,000
Siam .....	4,000,000
Turkey .....	500,000
United Kingdom .....	20,000,000
Burma .....	3,000,000
Philippine Islands .....	2,000,000
China .....	20,000,000

The Fulbright Act also provided for a Board for Foreign Scholarships to be appointed by the President. Recently President Truman appointed the Board which includes: John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education, General Omar Bradley, Administrator of the

Veterans' Affairs, Sarah G. Blanding, President of Vassar College, Francis T. Spaulding, Commissioner of Education, State of New York; Walter Johnson, University of Chicago; Ernest O. Lawrence, University of California; Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University; Helen C. White, University of Wisconsin; Martin P. McGuire, Dean of the Graduate School, Catholic University; Lawrence Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education.

It is the duty of the Board of Foreign Scholarships to determine qualifications for those seeking scholarships and methods of making application.

Financial assistance under this program will be available to United States citizens for study, research, teaching and other educational activities in the schools, colleges, and universities of those nations taking part in this interchange. Such assistance will probably cover payment of tuition, maintenance, and incidental expenses, and, in the case of teachers, for salaries. Grants will undoubtedly vary in amount in accordance with the needs of the individual and the supplementary funds at his disposal. The limiting factor, that all benefits under the Act shall be provided from foreign currencies, must be kept in mind. No United States currency is available. All other qualifications being equal, veterans will be given preference.

Applications are not yet being received, but as soon as final agreements with other nations are completed, an announcement will be made by the Department of State giving the co-operating institutions broad, the fields of study, research and teaching open to United States citizens, and the time, place, and method of making application. Final selection will be made by the Board of Foreign Scholarships.

Similar benefits under the Act will also be available to students and teachers from other countries participating in this program. Grants will cover payments for comparable assistance to that previously indicated insofar as it can be paid in foreign currencies. Expenses within the United States are not covered where dollar expenditure would be required.

There have been two meetings of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and much progress has been made. At its first meeting in October the Board asked that a plan of operation to implement the Fulbright Act be drawn up by the Institute of International Education for students, the U. S. Office of Education for elementary, secondary and junior college teachers, the Board of the four educational and research

Councils for professors and specialists. Earlier this month these plans were presented to the Board and in its January meeting it is anticipated that the Board will act on the proposals.

Already one country, China, has signed an agreement with this country. It is expected that other countries will sign in the near future. In each country a bi-national Educational Foundation is to be established which will survey the needs and opportunities, report findings to the Department of State, and then it is expected that announcements will be made in this country, outlining opportunities for study and research abroad.

Another significant development is the Mundt Bill which has already passed the House and is in the calendar of the Senate for early consideration when Congress convenes next month. The Mundt Bill will give authority to the Secretary of State to put into effect cultural, educational, and informational programs through the world.

To us who are working in international education these programs pose questions as well as afford opportunities. Some of the questions are: Foreign students are welcome to this country, how welcome? Foreign students are good for our country, how good? What does a foreign student mean to us? United States students profit from experience abroad, how much? These are some of the questions, and of course, there are many more. Partial answers are available to all of them, but may I suggest that the answers are indeed partial.

A few years ago we discovered that foreign students were real problems because many came without fluency in English. To many of our schools this lack was an opportunity to develop techniques in the teaching of English as a second language. The happy result is that there are now many institutions ready and eager to receive foreign students who need training and practice in English. Another evidence of welcome was the creation in more than 400 of our colleges and universities of a school officer—the foreign student counsellor. How essential this person was to the lad who came from the mountains of Peru whose first introduction to the fabulous land of America was New York City with all of its attendant distractions and noise.

What good do these foreign students do for ours? Unhappily in some places, not much. José, for example, comes to a campus where, at times, his circle is limited to his immediate associates. If he is asked to speak about his customs, his people, his home, his school, his church, his country, it is a sporadic Lions' Club

luncheon or a Women's Guild meeting. Maria, Hans, Maurice, Kuo, and Stefan are treated similarly on that campus. Sometime these lads and girls find themselves pretty completely frustrated.

In other places, as you know, the picture is brighter and pleasanter. José is a part of the school community and shares in its activities. He does not slink off after a laboratory session to speak Spanish and get some companionship. His abilities and his knowledge are brought into play skilfully. The little music teacher from Great Britain who was assigned to Orange, Texas, last year was used as a resource person, at first in the city only, but later throughout the whole county.

One day these resources, 18,000 potential sources last year, will be used more advantageously. Already in some of our universities through the International Centers, Houses, and Clubs, through the Spanish, French, Italian, and German Houses, through the Student Unions and Centers, the foreign students are being used in classes in the community and in the civic circles to broaden understanding of other peoples.

This will grow as we become more expert at the proper application of our human resources. Here again is a partial answer. Another

aspect of the reply is what does the foreign student take home with him. He learns how we make roads, make dental plates, run hospitals, conduct programs for delinquents, but does he learn about us as people? Has he become familiar with our homes, schools, churches, and government? These visitors from other nations are destined to be the leaders in their countries presently. Suppose they leave us with great skill in their field and are unaware of the people who taught them. What good will their experience be to them and more importantly, to us for their having been among us?

These questions it seems to me, are the heart of the problem. You have already discovered that I am an optimist because I have not counted the ones who came here and failed nor the ones who left for other countries and failed. They will always occur. In spite of unbounded optimism, however, I cannot see that time is unlimited to bring people together. Through these magnificent programs which are expanding we have the opportunity to bring students, teachers, and professors to this country and to send ours abroad. Our hopes, I am sure, are that these experiences will be profitable personally, but, more important by far, that they will also be avenues to understanding and through understanding to peace among men everywhere.

## AN APPRAISAL METHOD FOR MEASURING THE QUALITY OF HOUSING\*†

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**F**EW IF ANY domestic problems facing America are more urgent or complex than that of providing a decent home for every family. A major part of the population is affected; emergency and long-range programs are required; many types of public and private agencies must cooperate in working out sound policies and specific programs. The importance of a broad-front attack by all agencies concerned is increasingly evident, and is recognized on a na-

tional scale in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill, which would lay the basis for a program aimed to meet the need within a generation.

The basic factors which make housing adequate or inadequate for human living are widely recognized as elements of healthfulness, health being broadly interpreted to include physical safety and emotional well-being. If the elements of housing can be appraised from a progressive public health viewpoint, by sound investigative methods, a valid and broadly useful measurement of housing adequacy will have been achieved. This is the purpose of the procedures to be described.

Emergency housing may be catch-as-

\*Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in New York City, December 28-30, 1947.

†The discussion of this paper by Nicholas J. Demerath was published in the *Journal of Housing*, February, 1948.



catch-can, but long-term programs for any community depend on systematic inventory of present housing, and on thoughtful appraisal of conditions under which families live. This calls for information of at least the following kinds:

Facts which will classify the physical quality of housing as to conformance with contemporary standards of healthfulness, safety and amenity. Such classification should furnish a guide to judgment on remedial measures needed: clearance and replacement of extreme slums, law enforcement and conservative measures in somewhat better areas, and prevention or control of blight in obsolescent but not yet substandard neighborhoods. Not only dwelling conditions but physical neighborhood environment must be taken into account in such classification.

Facts which will describe the relation between households and the dwellings they occupy, in order to judge whether present facilities are appropriate as to type, size, and cost; and to guide the planning of needed new facilities. Under this heading come such data as household size, composition, race and income; and dwelling type, size and rental value.

Facts which will guide corrective measures short of new construction, including enforcement of legal regulations and voluntary rehabilitation. Needed here are workable data on the areas and types of dwellings and families among which substandardness is concentrated; the relative importance of poor dwelling facilities, of insanitary maintenance and disrepair, and of crowded occupancy; with distribution of specific defects under each of these headings.

#### WHY IS A NEW APPRAISAL METHOD NEEDED?

Systems of housing classification in general use are too limited to meet the needs outlined above. Data from the customary legal inspections of building and health departments should be a mine of basic data, but as a rule they show only the violations of archaic codes that fail to give a balanced appraisal according to contemporary standards. American cities devote thousands of man-days every year to housing inspection service in their slums, but there are few communities in which this effort answers the questions on which housing and city planning programs must be built. Such questions, for example, as: Just what is the size

and nature of the extreme slum areas? Who are the overcrowded families? Are any groups, as groups, subject to special hazard or discrimination? How much worse is district A than district B, and in what respects? How many dwellings should be designated unfit for habitation, and either demolished or rehabilitated? Aside from the condition of dwellings, are the problem areas, as neighborhoods, fit to live in? May structural improvements be nullified in the long run by adverse environmental factors?

The two most widely used systems of housing classification are the U. S. Housing Census and Real Property Inventory technique. These have been invaluable in showing the approximate size and nature of the housing problem and in mobilizing support for constructive programs, both nationally and locally. They have been found, however, of very limited value in dealing with the complex, highly localized problems that confront operating agencies like city planning commissions, housing and redevelopment authorities, and law enforcement bodies. The chief limitations can be briefly stated.

These systems largely or altogether omit consideration of neighborhood environment; and they cover too few qualitative items on the dwelling and its occupancy to measure compliance with contemporary standards. They lean heavily on gross indices of quality such as lack of toilet and bath, omitting lesser but significant defects which must be shown if an appraisal is to measure conditions above the slum level.

These systems report individual deficiencies without a means for measuring their cumulative effect. Tabulation by discrete characteristics makes difficult an overall comparison of housing quality. Limited tabulations of the data make it difficult to study many of the conditions on which local policy must be based. Finally, these systems do not distinguish clearly between family dwellings (with cooking facilities) and rooming houses. Fundamental problems associated with the latter type of housing, highly important in many cities, tend to be obscured in the statistics.

Techniques of market analysis recently developed by federal housing agencies deal most valuably with broad economic factors which may determine a city's growth and future housing demand, but insofar as they depend on Census or similar data for the measurement of present housing conditions, they are subject to the limitations previously noted.

In an era of precision chronometers, we in housing have been telling the time of day with an hourglass. We need something at least as good as the dollar watch.

#### PURPOSE AND CONTENT OF THE APHA APPRAISAL METHOD

In developing a new appraisal method, the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing has attempted to overcome the limitations and to consolidate the merits of earlier systems of evaluation. The object of its technique is to measure the housing needs of a community in such fashion as to serve the policy-making purposes of all agencies concerned with housing and planning; and, by providing information of wide value, to stimulate a joint attack on fundamental housing problems. The procedures are intended primarily for use in selected areas known to contain poor or mediocre housing, not for city-wide application. In obvious non-problem areas, classification by less refined methods may be quite accurate enough. With some modifications the method can be applied to rural dwellings.

The technique reports and evaluates housing deficiencies which may adversely affect health, safety or essential livability. The principal features of the system can be summarized as follows:

Factors covered for dwellings include the usual survey items such as toilet and bathing facilities and overcrowding. New indices have been developed for condition of repair, safety of egress, adequacy of heating and lighting, sanitary condition of the premises, and other items significant for health and safety. Criteria of overcrowding have been greatly sharpened as compared with the usual single index of persons per room.

Descriptive characteristics such as family

size, income, rent paid and type of structure are also reported, as a basis for classification and analysis of the deficiency findings. In presenting the dwelling results, distinction is made between the relatively fixed physical facilities and the changeable factors of occupancy and maintenance, since remedial action must recognize the difference between these two types of defects.

The physical neighborhood environment is recognized as an essential part of housing. Environmental factors appraised include crowding of the land by buildings, intermixture of business and industrial uses with residence, proximity to major traffic streets and railroads, adequacy of sanitary services, and availability of essential community facilities: schools, public transportation, parks and playgrounds.

The quality of housing is measured by a system of numerical scores. Schedule items calling for subjective judgment by the inspector have been largely replaced by objective items which give consistent results from different enumerators. This permits assignment of standard scores to deficiencies reported. Total scores for dwelling conditions, for environment, or for these two combined permit instant comparison between individual dwellings, blocks or larger areas; or between racial groups, housing by rental classes or other wanted categories. The scoring system will be more fully explained later.

Dwelling data are collected by inspection in the field, using separate schedules for structures and for dwelling units. Sampling is used where this is appropriate to the purposes of a given study. Field work of the dwelling appraisal may be combined with the legal inspection of enforcement agencies or may be done separately. Completed schedules from the field are processed and rated in the office, using a scoring template which greatly speeds and simplifies the work. Scores and descriptive information for each dwelling unit are transcribed to a Unit Appraisal Form, which summarizes the field data for ready understanding. The results are punched on cards for tabulation.

The environmental survey is conducted both by field observation and through maps

or other office sources. An abridged series of environmental indices is often used to match the economy of sampling in the dwelling survey.

Either the dwelling or environmental appraisal can be made alone, but only the combined surveys give a full picture of the problem. For both parts of the appraisal, complete manuals of instruction are provided for the local staff.

The method can be carried out by personnel available among the regular staffs of city government departments. Costs of the appraisal have been of the order of two dollars per dwelling unit schedule.

The Committee on the Hygiene of Housing supplies consulting service of a member of its staff to advise on local adjustments in the technique, to help plan a study suitable for the purposes of the local sponsors, and to train the local staff in all the operations.

Results of the appraisal can be applied to a wide variety of housing and related problems. The method provides the technical basis for a broad attack by public and private agencies working in cooperation. In official surveys with the method, local health departments, housing authorities and city planning commissions have worked together most effectively—each contributing stipulated personnel or funds and each sharing in interpretation and use of the results.

This joint approach is believed by our Committee to offer the pattern for a new and fruitful type of cooperation in framing basic policies—cooperation not only among city government departments but broadened to include such private bodies as the real estate board, the council of social agencies, and the chamber of commerce.

#### THE RATING SYSTEM

Scores are a distinctive feature of the method. They consist of penalty points assigned to conditions that fail to meet accepted housing standards. The standards used have been adapted from our Committee's "Basic Principles of Healthful Housing." Penalties rather than credit scores are used because the method measures departures

downward from a level of acceptability.

It should be stressed that field enumerators do no rating. Their only duty is to observe and record the facts. Scoring is done later in the office, using templates which carry the rating scale for each qualitative item.

The penalty value assigned to each deficiency has been determined by a panel of consultants on scale-construction, including members of our Committee and others experienced in housing, public health and related fields. Each deficiency is graded according to the seriousness of that condition as a threat to health or safety or as an impairment of comfort or general livability, in the judgment of these specialists. Each member of the panel on scale-construction evaluated separately every condition reportable on the field schedules.

In assigning scores to a schedule item, members of the panel used specially designed scale-construction forms which assured systematic reviews of essential factors. They considered, for instance, whether the field information is of a type tending to give reliable and objective data; whether the item can be expected to have constant significance as between the several types of dwellings, different localities, various economic levels and the like; and whether the item is a true reflector of the detriment it seeks to measure.

The provisional scale constructed by reconciling the panel's recommendations was first tested in 1943 by a pilot study at New Haven, co-sponsored by city and state agencies in cooperation with the Committee. Thirty-five blocks containing 2,500 dwelling units were selected to cover the range from high income neighborhoods to the worst slums of the city. A fifty per cent sample of these dwellings was surveyed, and the complete environmental appraisal was made. The resulting classification of housing conditions was found by the reviewing group to correspond so closely to the manifest total character of the neighborhoods as to prove the essential validity of the scale.

Particularly noted by reviewers of this

test were the accuracy with which the scale measured breaks in quality from block to block (or even within blocks) and the fact that the ranking of blocks by scores was heartily endorsed by officials with intimate knowledge of these areas. Minor revisions in the scoring values have been made as the result of subsequent experience in other cities.

Under the rating scale, factors of the dwelling or its environment which show no deficiency receive a zero score. Penalties for individual deficiencies range from one point to a maximum of thirty points. For example, scores of twenty to thirty points are assigned to conditions which offer extreme and ever-present threats to health or safety, such as overcrowding at the ratio of four persons per room or a single means of egress from a third floor dwelling unit. A penalty of ten points is charged for a toilet shared with another dwelling unit. Lesser deficiencies such as minor obstruction of daylight by neighboring structures, or closets lacking in part of the rooms of a dwelling unit, may be scored from one point upwards. Similar gradations occur in the environmental scores.

Under this scheme a total score of zero penalty points for a dwelling unit and its environment will indicate housing conditions which are excellent from the viewpoint of official agencies and are presumably free from defects of public concern. For broad comparative purposes, housing is classified into quality grades, depending on median total penalty scores. Class intervals of thirty points are normally applied to dwelling conditions and environment separately. Thus an area will fall in grade A if its median score is less than thirty points for dwelling or environmental conditions, which will normally mean a combination of minor defects not basically impairing the livability of houses or neighborhood. Scores of ninety points or over, which cannot be incurred except by combinations of basically substandard conditions that violate fundamentals of decent living, will put the housing in grade D. Thoroughgoing slum conditions are indicated by grade E, with median scores of

120 points or more for dwellings or environment.

Scores for certain items are modified to fit local or regional conditions. For example, the penalties used in New England for inadequate heating facilities are moderated for southern climates. Once the penalty scale has been adjusted and ratified for a given community, the scoring of field schedules becomes a rapid mechanical process, requiring no further judgment on the part of the survey staff. A clerk can score a dwelling unit in three to four minutes, or at the rate of one hundred units or more per day.

An auxiliary score is provided by designating basic deficiencies in dwellings when certain of the items incur penalties of ten points or more. In general, a basic deficiency is a lack of dwelling facilities, a state of disrepair, or a degree of overcrowding so serious that it has been widely recognized by public health and housing agencies either as calling for a correction order by a local enforcement agency or as justifying the removal of the affected family to other quarters if the condition is not or cannot be remedied in their present home.

In other words, a basic deficiency is a major substandard condition in the sense that progressive housing regulations acknowledge it as warranting drastic corrective action by an official body. Examples of basic deficiencies are lack of dual egress, a toilet outside the structure, and sleeping area of less than forty square feet per person. Dwellings with one or more basic deficiencies are designated as substandard, and this term takes on a definite official meaning. The number of basic deficiencies gives a measure of this gross substandardness.

A dual criterion of adequacy is thus provided: first, the penalty score which measures major and minor deficiencies together, and second, the designation of individual basic defects that make a house substandard, regardless of the total score. The latter is an essential safeguard in this type of scale.

#### ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

A common weakness of housing surveys has been that when the results are presented



it is difficult to tell what they mean and what should be done about them. A system of non-additive, unscored items is likely to result in a bewildering array of maps, tables and graphs which fail to give a summary picture that will be understood by the busy public official or the layman. Under the present method, a small number of maps and charts will show both the relative quality and the specific problems of the housing studied. The procedures for analysis and presentation of results take full advantage of the fact that a scoring system expresses complex relationships in a single index figure, making it possible to consider broad policy before proceeding to details.

Total scores distinguish a good house and environment from a poor one. Subtotal scores show the broad nature of deficiencies, including the occupancy relation of a household to its dwelling. Item scores reveal the incidence of individual defects.

Analysis proceeds from total scores as a broad measure of quality to item scores as description of specific problems. For instance, the first map in the usual analytic series will classify geographic areas into quality grades according to median total scores for dwelling and environment combined.<sup>1</sup> This map summarizes the entire appraisal on one sheet, and tells how good or poor overall an area is for families to live in. It does not, of course, show what remedies are needed. The answers to this question begin to appear with the first two breakdown maps, one based on dwelling total scores, the other on total scores for environment. The first of these reveals the areas in which need for slum clearance or other extreme measures with respect to dwellings can be expected. The second map indicates, among other things, those areas where poor environment may be expected to preclude redevelopment with housing. Thus a broad understanding of basic problems begins to emerge from the first three steps of an orderly analysis. Further study in terms of subtotal and item scores will indicate the

need for specific programs. Areas warranting slum clearance, for instance, are commonly delimited by study of subtotal scores for dwelling facilities, or of these scores in combination with the maintenance subtotal. Occupancy scores are excluded from such interpretation, as use-crowding of dwellings has no causal relation to their physical fitness.

Enforcement programs and numerous other activities are framed from study of individual deficiencies, in terms of their percentage incidence and item scores. For instance, high penalties for inadequate means of egress will call the attention of the fire or building department to problems in its domain. A wide spread of infestation by rats has been taken in several cities as an equally clear mandate to the health department.

Quite as important for housing and planning policy as the study of geographic areas is the study of conditions which run with population groupings, types of dwellings or economic status. The housing and families surveyed can be readily grouped according to such classifications, and here too the analysis proceeds in an orderly way from general to particular. For example, in a community with a concentration of nonwhite families, a single tabulation will indicate whether they are the victims of discriminatory rents and whether there is need for more careful study of this problem. The tabulation needed is one which crosses total scores with rent paid, separately for white and nonwhite households. If results are similar for the two groups, it is evident that the minority group is not disfavored in terms of general quality of housing per dollar paid. If this is not the answer, and it seldom is, further breakdowns will quickly show the nature and extent of the discrimination. Armed with such measurements, a community is in a position for the first time to prove these inequities and to act upon them. Equally sharp understanding is readily gained of problems associated with tenement structures, with families living in light housekeeping suites, or with rents below any given level.

<sup>1</sup>Sixty-point class intervals are used for this combination.

Because the technique provides enough information to register the difference between extremely poor, moderately poor and genuinely good housing, the results are quite sensitive to conditions far above the slum clearance level, as where obsolescence or incipient blight is of concern to residents but not to law enforcement agencies. Surveys depending on gross measures of quality such as absence of toilets or baths give little discrimination in this middle part of the quality range.<sup>2</sup>

It is hardly possible to overstress the importance of the fact that this new rating scale is sensitive to conditions in mild problem areas as well as in extreme slums. Heretofore we have had such crude instruments of measurement as to disclose the blacks and imply the whites of a quality scale, the middle grays being largely lost. Is it not partly for this reason that the idea of housing surveys has become associated in the minds of realtors and other conservative groups with the notion of slum clearance, and with public housing as the chief object of an official housing program? Who can wonder that these groups have lacked enthusiasm for housing studies?

With an instrument available which will measure conditions in the mild problem areas where law enforcement is not concerned, but where pocketbooks of owners are becoming sensitive, there is a basis for expecting private business and realty groups to support broad housing studies.

In short, the availability of an adequate measuring instrument makes it possible for the first time to put all the housing cards on the table in objective fashion, free from name-calling, and let every group concerned with housing and city planning—from whatever angle—work out its own part in a balanced program that starts with the extreme

slums and goes as far up the quality scale as anyone may find it desirable to measure.

The content and procedures of the method have been described only so far as may give a general understanding of the machinery and results to be expected, for it seems equally desirable to sketch also the practical consequences that are following where the technique has gone to work. With this audience in particular, however, it is a matter of regret not to consider more fully such things as schedule design, scale-construction, devices evolved to expedite the work, theory and practice in tabulation and various other matters of methodology which have occupied a major part of our Committee's staff efforts for the past seven years. In several of these matters we believe that contributions have been made of general utility to investigators in the social sciences. However, many of these things can be read in the published manuals of the technique, and at least one of today's discussants should be qualified by previous study of the manuals to give a methodological critique of the procedures.

One item of mechanics, however, seems worthy of special mention to this group. From the outset, our Committee was determined that all users of the method should enjoy the speedy and flexible analysis which comes from use of statistical punch cards rather than manual tabulation. At the same time we recognized that many surveys, at least in small communities, might not have access to machine tabulation. We therefore experimented with alternative use of the marginally punched card, a cheap and simple instrument not seriously esteemed by many investigators. The fact that recorded data can be read in the mass from the edges of these cards conveys an important advantage which has been surprisingly overlooked. This characteristic makes it possible to apply a geometric principle of diagonal division—familiar to every engineering draftsman—to produce from the sorted cards an instantaneous scale reading of percentage distributions. This eliminates many counts and the calculation of percentages. With this characteristic of the mar-

<sup>2</sup> For instance, the general map produced by local study of Housing Census data for Los Angeles as an implied measurement of housing quality suggests the vast majority of that city to be of the best grade of quality, with one unbroken area of this grade almost fifteen square miles. Who can believe that there is even any five-mile square section of any American city without internal differences that are significant for public policy?

ginal punch card recognized and exploited by a simple scaling device, our staff and local users of the technique have in some instances chosen the marginal punch card, not as a makeshift substitute for machine tabulation, but as a preferable method of analysis.

#### APPLICATION TO ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY

There are some rather simple tests of a useful housing survey. First, does it answer the questions on which housing policy must be based—the questions that decide where money and man-power will be spent? Second, do the answers make sense? Are the statistics produced satisfactory to those who know the community? If these two things are not true, no appraisal is worth making, nor is it cheap no matter how little it may have cost. Third, is the cost commensurate with the information produced? Fourth, is the resulting information of a kind which tends to stimulate action? It is one purpose of this paper to indicate that affirmative answers to these questions are characteristic of studies by the system under discussion.

One reviewer of the method has well said, "It would be a pity if the years of time and effort put into the development of this appraisal scale resulted merely in an intricate tool to show how bad the slums are." Were this the only result, the work would indeed have been ivory tower. The effects, however, are quite otherwise.

For example, in Milwaukee not only have areas of slum clearance and rehabilitation been delimited in cooperative studies initiated by the health department, but problems of policy were so clearly brought out in relation to many other agencies that an interdepartmental coordinating body has been created to frame a concrete ten year program of reconstruction, rehabilitation and control for the areas affected.

In the currently important field of urban redevelopment by private capital, major cities are using the method for the basic task of selecting reconstruction areas for certification to redevelopment authorities. This is among the uses in Milwaukee. Philadelphia is engaged in a large study for this

purpose, co-sponsored by the city planning commission and redevelopment authority. Plans have been laid for a similar study in Washington, D.C.

In Los Angeles, the method has been used by the housing authority and health department to select families most in need of rehousing and to qualify them for admission to public housing projects. A systematic plan for rehabilitating houses thus vacated, when these are salvageable, has restored hundreds of dwelling units to the usable supply. In the same city, it has been demonstrated that overcrowding among Negroes and Mexicans, while prevalent to roughly the same degree, is due to wholly different causes. Negro households are crowded because families of normal size are crammed into one or two-room units. Mexican families, on the other hand, generally have dwellings of normal size, but seventy per cent of the families contain six persons or more. These factors, combined with income and other characteristics revealed by the study, have profound implications for public policy, ranging from questions of dwelling design to possible methods of finance.

In Los Angeles also, the findings have been used by the health department to demonstrate to the city council that specific sanitary problems extend into areas and types of accommodations not previously recognized as deficient. As a result, inspection personnel and the enforcement program have been substantially enlarged, and housing regulations are being restudied to plug their loopholes.

In New Haven, not only was the obvious fact shown that three-fourths of the families in slum and substandard areas pay less than \$25 a month for rent, but also that these families have less than one chance in five of getting a house not substandard in the official sense described in an earlier paragraph. This is a potent argument against those glib folk who would consider the housing problem to be solved with \$60 rents. Occupancy scores disclosed that fifty-four per cent of large households in these areas are so crowded as to warrant their admission to public housing projects on that

basis alone. Such evidence has led the housing authority to include an unusually high proportion of large dwelling units in its plans for projects that are ready to build when a national housing program comes out of mothballs.

The list of impacts on local behavior could be extended to describe the St. Louis scheme for basing the enforcement of a new housing ordinance on findings of this survey method; and Battle Creek's community council of over forty agencies joining with the health department to determine a practicable housing program for that city and its county; and the plans of state groups in Colorado and New Jersey to measure the housing need among small town and rural populations, including migrant farm laborers, to the end that regulations and constructive measures may be shaped to meet these long-neglected needs. It is flesh-and-blood reactions such as these which have led the U. S. Public Health Service to offer instruction in this appraisal technique at its national in-service training center for professional personnel of public health departments—a move which should materially speed the general adoption of these procedures.

The method has been used thus far primarily by official municipal agencies for programs of the types described. Limited studies, however, have been made by other groups, including university research departments. Further experimental studies by such groups appear to offer promise. For example, it would seem that this technique might supply all or part of the housing component of studies measuring the relation between housing and specific diseases, or the contribution of inadequate housing to emotional stress and family maladjustment.

#### SUMMARY: SIGNIFICANCE FOR LOCAL PROGRAMS

Systematic information is a key to results. It becomes possible for the first time to map with accuracy the housing assets and liabilities of a city, to show clearly what the gross housing problems are and where

they are concentrated. Manpower of enforcement agencies now largely wasted in nuisance inspection can produce basic information for shaping policy; a current inventory can be kept as a normal part of municipal administration, using locally available resources. Problem areas of the city can be classified according to the basic treatment they require: clearance—with or without rehousing—law enforcement, voluntary rehabilitation, protection against blight. Such classification is being made the basis of official programs. This has cash value. Costly improvements may not be enforced, for instance, in areas scheduled to be bought for early clearance.

Regulations and enforcement are directed to a purpose. Results of the appraisal can be used as a check on inadequate building and housing codes. The appraisal facilitates intelligent selection by the health, building and fire departments and other law enforcement agencies of houses subject to orders for condemnation or rehabilitation; and it supports such orders by objective evidence that should stand up in court. Enforcement can be tapered off in slum clearance areas and concentrated in substandard neighborhoods above the clearance level. A means is provided by which progressive health departments are resuming their proper responsibilities in housing.

Under a joint attack, each program reinforces the others. The appraisal puts housing standards to work on a broad front, providing the technical basis for a joint attack by all agencies concerned with housing and planning. It becomes possible for regulatory and constructive agencies to buttress one another. Where the worst seams of a city are beyond redemption through law enforcement by health and building authorities, and are so declared by agreement of these agencies, powerful leverage is brought to bear in support of needed slum clearance and rehousing. Agencies with a secondary or incidental housing responsibility—such as welfare and social work bodies—will benefit by adoption of improved official standards developed from the appraisal. Data on punch cards can be used for special purposes



by welfare bodies, housing management, tax officials, and others. New housing surveys need often not be made for special purposes. The system is flexible enough to carry special information for secondary users if they share in planning the appraisal.

The method helps to put in the local community, where it belongs, both the ability to evaluate its housing problem and the responsibility for framing a program suited to its own needs. State or federal help can be based on the demonstrated need, but imported schemes can be intelligently criticized on the basis of joint thinking by local groups.

These things are happening in progressive cities. In communities where the method has been put to use, local agencies concerned

with health, housing, and planning have found that they begin to think together when they work together around this new tool for measuring the condition of present housing. The existence of a sound technical instrument is carrying interagency cooperation beyond the realm of speeches at professional conventions and into the daily work of the health officer and building commissioner, the city planner, the housing authority executive and the director of social welfare programs.

The system is offered as one of the technical tools in that larger kit—including legislative, financial and administrative tools—which must be boldly put to work if we of America do actually intend to solve our housing problem within a generation.

## COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR IN RACE RELATIONS\*

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### I

IN THE June, 1947, issue of the *American Sociological Review* Mr. Anselm Strauss stated a point of view which I have long shared: that sociologists have largely neglected opportunities for fruitful research in the field of collective behavior.<sup>1</sup> True enough, many sociologists have concerned themselves with public opinion and propaganda, subjects which lie at least partly within the field of collective behavior. In the racial field studies of "racial attitudes," "racial hostility" and "racist propaganda" abound. But in much of this work the frame of reference has been more psychological than sociological. The focus of study has commonly been that of sampling the opinions or attitudes of selected individuals, with controls established for such non-group attributes as age, sex, educational level, economic position, geographical location, and

the like. Studies of the poll type have become widely accepted among sociologists as appropriate projects for considerable financial support; the similarity of these projects to market research studies places them in popular company since they are formulated along lines readily understood by those close to research funds. Of course, the percentage distributions of given types of opinions and the statistical trends in these distributions may be revealing. Nevertheless, the atomistic approach which treats each person's opinion as equal in significance to every other's has definite limitations when one is studying the realities of the way people act in groups.

Much of such research is conducted on a statistical level that is becoming increasingly involved and expensive; but, although remarkable "scientific" accuracy in the assembly and processing of the facts collected is achieved, explanations of the findings frequently resort to sheer speculation in the currently popular verbiage.

Other sociologists concerned with such collective phenomena as race prejudice—currently referred to as "racial hostility"—take their points of theoretical orientation from

\* Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in New York City, December 28-30, 1947.

<sup>1</sup> Anselm Strauss, "Research in Collective Behavior: Neglect and Need," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 352-4.

one or another of the psychoanalytic schools. It is my view that the psychoanalysts have made profound contributions to our understanding of the hidden sources of human motivation and the subtle ways in which past experience enters into the overt behavior of the individual. But sociologists have little contribution to make by becoming watered-down psychoanalysts. The psychoanalyst is a specialist in the understanding of the individual and of the interplay of inner processes which lie back of individual action. Surely the sociologists can be of aid to those who study the individual by making more effective analyses of the social fields in which these motivations are produced. Why, for example, do young Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans on the West Coast indicate more intense "hostilities" and resentments of white Americans than they do in Hawaii? Why do the Chinese-Americans on the West Coast generally experience less intense resentments toward whites there than did an older generation of Chinese-Americans? How are we to account for the trends in the degrees of tension between whites and Negroes in the South or the North? These and similar questions call for research which more properly falls within the fields of specialization of the sociologist and are particularly related to the analysis of collective behavior.

## II

In this paper I propose to point out some phases of collective behavior theory which may be derived from analysis of social change in interracial situations, particularly with regard to the role of social movements in social change. More specifically, I would like to indicate how we may improve our frame of reference for analyzing social change through social movements by considering social movements in the field of race relations.

At the outset, three kinds of social movements involving persons of different racial origins must be distinguished: *racial* movements, *interracial* movements, and *non-racial* movements. These movements should be considered with reference to the typical sequence

of changes which occur once different racial groups come into contact with one another. These three kinds of movements should be regarded as arbitrary divisions of what is actually a continuous series. As relationships between racial groups develop, some aspects of this series become predominant; certain types of social movements particularly relevant to the current phase of the social change sequence successively assume larger proportions in the configuration of collective actions.

*Racial movements* draw their participants from one of the racial groups involved in relations with one another. Racial movements may develop either in the group with dominant or subordinate status. The African Colonization Society among ante-bellum whites, which was interested in eliminating the "race problem" in America by returning the Negroes to Africa, illustrates a racial movement among the dominant group, while the Garvey Movement and most "native movements" or nationalistic, independence movements are examples of those among subordinated groups. Either implicitly or explicitly, the objectives of most racial movements involve changes which would widen the social distance and even limit the physical contacts between the racial groups, at least temporarily. As the racial groups strive to retain or regain their social and cultural identities, political dominance or independence, or economic ascendance, the emphasis is upon inner cohesion of the racial group at the expense of contacts and association with other racial groups in a unified social life.

*Interracial movements* differ from racial movements in the origins of their participants and in their objectives. They draw members from both the dominant and the subordinate racial groups. More important, their activities are directed toward objectives which, if attained, would promote social change toward further integration of the different races into a common social system on a "non-racial" basis. Interracial movements, of course, vary widely in the rate of speed that integration is sought or in the extent of social integration that is tolerated and worked for. As in racial movements, attitudes

of race-consciousness are present among the participants, but here "hostilities" and "resentments" are likely to be more covert, less openly expressed, than in racial movements since members of both racial groups are acting co-operatively, with personal contacts, toward shared objectives. These objectives typically have to do with improvement of living conditions and status opportunities of persons in the subordinate racial group. Those who participate in the movement do so as "race members" and with full awareness of the racial identity of the other participants. The National Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, dozens of the interracial committees formed in cities of the United States during the recent war are examples of interracial movements.

*Non-racial* movements, like interracial movements, draw their participants from various racial groups but are distinguished from interracial movements in that the fact of racial affiliation is only an incidental element in the membership. The objectives of non-racial movements are not primarily concerned with the welfare of a subordinated racial group or with altering the nature or conditions of relationships between racial groups. Non-racial movements are directed toward types of social change which would affect the whole society, or any part of it, without reference to racial factors. Achievement of these objectives would, in many cases, affect the interracial pattern, but this would be an indirect effect of the social action rather than the motivation for such action. The objectives of non-racial movements appeal to certain individuals of various racial origins but do not attract all individuals of any particular racial group. Non-racial movements occur in a society composed of people of divergent racial origins who are becoming or have become socially integrated into a common status system, at least to the point where racial identity may be subordinated in certain situations to other factors. Race consciousness, in this instance, diminishes until it largely or completely disappears. Physical divergencies related to various racial origins play little more part in interpersonal re-

lations within non-racial movements than unusual stature or a disposition toward bald-headedness. Each participant interacts with the others as a "person" with likable and disliked characteristics. In Hawaii the participation of individuals of Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, Portuguese, and *haole* ("North European") ancestries in the organization of a union of plantation workers, and the participation of other individuals of the same diverse ancestries in the promotion of the cause of an international "Federal Union" represent movements in "Hawaiian society" which are *non-racial* in character.

The order in which these types of movements has been presented here is the order in which they may be expected to appear in a typical race relations sequence. Comparative studies of interracial situations indicate that as contacts develop between races who initially are culturally as well as physically divergent from one another and as the groups are drawn into increasingly continuous association on various levels, there tends to be a typical series of transitions involving conflict and accommodation before assimilation dissolves group barriers and incorporates all of the population elements into a more or less unified society. Before this sequence is completed some forms of all three of these types of social movements will almost certainly have emerged. The predominance of one or another of these types of social movements may serve as an index to each phase of the sequence. Racial movements, which tend to polarize the groups, are most characteristic of those phases in which conflict is most intense. Interracial movements occur when some sort of status system has been worked out and conflict has been reduced to the extent that antagonisms between the groups can be subordinated to the achievement of objectives representing an area of agreement. The appearance of non-racial movements is incontrovertible evidence of extensive assimilation of at least some proportion of the different groups into an emerging unified society. It must be emphasized, however, that in a complex society different phases of the sequence may exist contemporaneously in different geographic areas, on

different status levels, and in different specialized fields of activity. It follows that different forms of each of these three types of movements may be going on simultaneously. The research student interested in trends in race relations, therefore, might find significant evidence in the relative importance of these types of movements and the proportionate support which they receive from possible participants.

### III

It was stated above that the types of social movements which have been characterized should be regarded as divisions of a continuous series. Further consideration of racial and interracial movements in relation to changes in race relations indicates that each of these may be considered with respect to another axis definable in any given situation. This axis may be referred to as a collective action continuum. It represents another continuous series concerned with the scope and direction of the social change felt to be needed and the speed with which the changes are to be inaugurated. Arbitrary divisions of this continuum, from "right" to "left," might be called "reactionary," "status quo," "conservative reform," "liberal reform," "radical reform," and "revolutionary." The South presents a type-situation admirably suited to a consideration of racial and interracial movements with respect to this collective action continuum. In this type-situation contacts between racial groups have brought acculturation to the point where both groups are culturally capable of participating in a common social system. No barriers to social integration exist as far as language and the general institutional complex is concerned, apart from those phases which involve racial attitudes and practices. These attitudes and practices have become organized in a pattern of racial accommodation commonly referred to as a caste system. We have excellent studies of the structure, contours, public practices and ideologies of this system. We have relatively little theoretical analysis of what happens as this racial accommodation breaks down. The place and interrelation of collec-

tive behavior phenomena in the dynamic phases of racial interaction call for at least as much analysis as have the more static aspects of accommodative patterns.

Collective behavior theory would lead us to anticipate that social movements are not the first social and collective phenomena to emerge as opposition to traditional racial accommodations develops. It is more likely that there will be individual protests by members of the subordinate group, reflecting their personal dissatisfactions with the status quo. Organized opposition to the existing system does not appear as soon as these individual dissatisfactions are felt. Protest feelings find expression in more or less subtle acts of aggression, some directed toward members of the dominant group, others expressed within the subordinate group itself.<sup>2</sup> But while the acts themselves provide immediate satisfactions for the self, they are not concerted steps toward social change and are far from a frontal attack upon the structure of interracial accommodation.

The tension underlying these protest acts, however, almost inevitably takes on a collective character within the isolated confines of the subordinate racial group as the acts are talked about, taught to others, tolerated, approved, or encouraged. Individual tension becomes transformed into racial tension as there comes about a mutual realization of feelings of unrest and dissatisfaction among in-group members. This tension mounts when it is realized that a corresponding, but counter, tension exists in the dominant group. In this situation some collective outburst may occur. Generally this is of a violent nature and gives vent to the individual feelings of a number of persons. Such outbursts are usually soon quelled. Even if they run their course they bring no immediate improvement in the situation since they usually lack any well-defined objectives. But they do have an indirect function in social change in that they provide temporary emotional outlets and thus help the irreconcilables of the subordi-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), Chap. 13, Aggression Within the Negro Group, and Chap. 14, Negro Aggression Against Whites.



nate group to maintain organized personalities. The feelings of racial tension which produce and are in turn stimulated by such temporary phenomena are an asset in any effective mobilization of the dissatisfied into organized racial or interracial movements which do have a more rationally planned program for social change.

Also the more dramatic collective outbursts, such as race riots, attract attention from members of the dominant group, and some of these, for various reasons, become drawn into collective action that is concerned with race problems. The forms of collective action to which they are attracted may be racial movements rather than interracial ones—that is, the members of the dominant group may think of the problem of dealing with the racial situation as “their” problem—they control the social order and they expect to take whatever action is necessary to make it run smoothly. There is not, however, unanimity as to what the appropriate action is to be. Three main types within this division of the “collective action continuum,” as it appears in the dominant group, may be distinguished: the *reactionary*, the *status quo*, and the *conservative reform*.

The *reactionary* type includes those whose pattern of ideas may be constructed as follows: the traditional pattern of interracial accommodation was satisfactory and workable; the subordinate group no longer accepts it; the existing authorities do not impose it, at least with enough rigor; it is necessary for the participants in this movement to take action to re-impose the traditional pattern.

The ideas underlying the *status quo* group differ from those of the *reactionary* movement in that there is recognition that changes are actually taking place which make the traditional pattern of interracial accommodation no longer realistically possible. But it is felt that the subordinate group wants to change things too fast and is getting out of hand; the community gets unfavorable publicity from such outbursts, which is undesirable from business and other points of view; there is local criticism of the administration in power, which threatens its tenure; there is a desire

for immediate action which will calm the current disturbance and a hope for some techniques for more effective suppression of future disturbances. The “committee of citizens” formed at a time of crisis or incipient crisis may represent this type of movement, but its nature is likely to be sporadic rather than continuous. Members of such a committee are likely to be drawn from the upper strata of the dominant racial group. They are not genuinely concerned with basic conditions underlying interracial violence and the breakdown of racial accommodation or instituting forms of action which would affect these basic conditions. Neither do they wish to revert to older patterns which may have worked in the past. Not “back to the past” but “back to normal” is the characteristic wish of this group.

Farther along on the continuum is the *conservative reform* movement. Here the configuration of ideas is somewhat as follows: the reactions of the subordinate racial group indicate that the social system is not functioning properly; their reactions are at least partially justified and the conduct of individuals of the dominant group participating in violence is deplorable; the existing political administration is inadequate; improvement of the efficiency and quality of administration is to be sought through reform; to the extent that reforms in administrative policy and procedure are achieved the obvious sources of immediate irritation underlying unrest in the subordinate group will be reduced. This movement is likely to include those in the dominant group who are the “socially conscious elite”: persons who themselves are in socially and economically secure positions and are able and willing to recognize shortcomings in existing policy and actual practice. Their interest in administrative reform is sincere and the activities of the organization that may be formally established will continue long after public tension related to violence has died down. It is to be emphasized, however, that in this group there is little reconsideration of the social ends or values that are implicit in the social system. The objectives may include an improvement, perhaps a more humane organization, of the

means of control; they may even include an increase in public facilities and services for the subordinate group. There may be a recognition that a "separate but equal" policy for dominant and subordinate racial groups is, in practice, more "separate" than "equal" and that it is desirable to work toward achieving the "equal" facilities. While this does not involve any alteration of the *ideal* public policy, it does mean change of *actual* policy and practice. Such change, if initiated, may not produce many immediate, observable changes in the relations between the races but will actually initiate fundamental changes in the long run.

#### IV

When racial accommodation in the type-situation which has been considered here is in the process of breaking down, there emerge forms of collective action, primarily types of social movements, which ultimately involve persons from most segments of the class structure of both the dominant and subordinate groups. In addition to the three types of collective action among dominant group members discussed above, there can develop, and probably will, both *interracial* and *non-racial* movements, promoting objectives which directly or indirectly will produce social change in race relations. However, these movements are more likely to fall into those parts of the collective action continuum which we have identified as "conservative reform," "liberal reform," "radical reform," and "revolutionary." There is not time to describe the configuration of ideas and objectives associated with each of these, as was done in the preceding section for the "reactionary," "status quo," and "conservative reform" movements within a racial group. In the time that remains, it will be possible to touch upon only a few additional features of the collective behavior phenomena relating to the interracial movements that develop.

*Interracial* movements are fundamentally concerned with the social consequences of the incomplete merger of two societies. These two societies are traceable, historically, to the coming together of two racial groups possessing different cultures. Within the region

where they have finally come into contact, they live under a common economic, political, and cultural order which has given relative positions to members of the two groups without fusing them into a unified society. Interracial movements, by the fact that they involve the co-operative efforts of members of both groups toward attaining shared goals, project the possibility of further social integration. But the interracial movements may vary greatly from one another with respect to the extent to which the recognized objectives include the possibility of complete social integration on a non-racial basis and also with respect to the speed which such an eventuality, if visualized, is to be directly attempted.

Each interracial movement is composed of different combinations of persons of the two groups. Persons in one interracial movement may be willing to subscribe to a program of social change that is similar to that of the "conservative reform" racial movement, with the difference that they would be willing to work *with*, as well as *for*, members of the subordinate group in carrying out the program. In another interracial movement, departing farther from a status quo position on the collective action continuum, the members may take the view that nothing short of complete integration on a "non-racial," non-segregated basis will be acceptable. There may, of course, be many shades of viewpoint represented by as many different interracial movements, each attracting its distinctive combination of persons from the two groups.

The co-existence of several interracial movements with different orientations introduces new axes of inter-group conflict in race relations. The lines of conflict between the dominant and subordinate racial groups become blurred as clashes develop between the interracial movements themselves, since the membership of each of the latter is interracial. People in movements varying greatly with respect to the scope of social change desired may not only regard one another as "conservatives" and "radicals," but also divert much energy to conflict against each other. Even more important conflict may develop between one of the interracial move-

ments—particularly if it is regarded as “radical”—and organizations from the dominant group which are nearer the “status quo” or “reactionary” positions on the collective action continuum.

The *kind* of action to be taken, as well as the scope and speed of the action, may be another source of disagreement between particular interracial movements. In general, the tactics, paralleling closely the conservative-to-radical objectives, range from quiet conciliation to openly defiant, militant action. An organization using the former method may work informally among the controlling personnel of the conventional institutions, attempting to bring about change by gaining a series of minor concessions related to a major objective. This action will be little publicized lest resistance be aroused and further progress be blocked. On the other hand, the militant interracial movements may marshal every available instrument of communication in order to focus public attention, even if the desired immediate action is not expected. The “gradualists” may resent such methods on the basis that their own efforts are made more difficult by the militant group, while the militant group may feel that the gaining of minor concessions is simply a delaying action.

An additional factor in the conflict between interracial movements may be associated with the temporal sequence in which the movements develop and their subsequent rivalry for status as organizations. It is probable that the “more conservative” ones will come into existence at a time when racial accommodations are breaking down but the dominant group controls are so strong that more aggressive movements would not be tolerated. Later, as these controls become weaker, more militant, “radical reform” movements may be organized but they have to compete for membership with the older movements. In doing so, they may take a more extreme position than might otherwise be the case. They may even develop out of a schism in an older movement as more aggressive collective action is demanded. Those who have roles in the older movements may resent the rise of new movements and thus

hinder adjustment of their own organizations to changes which are actually taking place. At the same time effective co-ordination of the efforts of all interracial movements toward a common, broad objective is made impossible.

In the perspective of collective behavior theory, it can be seen that these interracial movements which develop rivalry and conflict among themselves, actually at the same time are mutually beneficial to one another and the very fact of their co-existence is an element in the social change process. For one thing, as has been pointed out, the co-existence of action groups with varying degrees of conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism, but all oriented toward social change, makes it possible to draw into collective action a great variety of persons who might not find a place in the dichotomous situation of either the “status quo” or “a particular program of social change.” And, paradoxically, the activities of the more extreme “radical reform” movements in the community may actually serve to draw persons into participation in the conservative reform movements who might otherwise not act at all. The “radical” activities draw the attention of many persons to questions which had hitherto been of little concern, at the same time arousing defense reactions from many other persons. Some of the former group may be motivated to join a conservative reform or even a liberal reform interracial movement in order to meet the challenge presented by the “radicals.” The very existence of the radical reform movement makes the others seem less radical than they would appear if they were the most extreme group in the collective action continuum.<sup>3</sup> But participation in any social action program in a particular situation gives persons experiences and contacts not only within the movement but with participants in other movements to the “right” or

<sup>3</sup> A corollary of the foregoing points is that the very meaning of such terms as “conservative,” “liberal,” “radical” to indicate types of orientation toward social change can be determined only within the actual collective behavior situation. Arbitrarily established criteria of these terms, without relation to the actual situation, are relatively meaningless.

to the "left." This may change their orientation and may lead them to participate in movements which they would not have initially entered. Shifts in membership from movement to movement over time need to be studied within this framework.

## v

It has been possible here to do little more than state abstractly and in a limited fashion a few phases of collective behavior theory which can be derived from analysis of social change in race relations. Most of the ideas developed or alluded to here could, I think, be used with minor modifications by students in many fields of social change

which have little or no direct connection with the field of race relations. It would be interesting, for instance, to consider the ways in which the central core of these ideas, re-clothed with the relevant analytical terms, could be used in investigating changes in "criminal relations," "sectarian relations," "labor relations," "immigrant relations," and certain other types of relations involving persons with subordinate, categorical status. To the extent that this could be done we would further confirm the proposition that the processes involved in bringing about social change through social movements are fundamentally the same regardless of the particular area of group relations under analysis.

## INTERNAL MIGRATION AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SOUTHERN POPULATION\*

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POPULATION students have long had as one of their major research concerns the effects of internal migration upon the population composition of the sending and receiving areas. The Southern Region, in recognition of its role as an area of net out-migration, has been designated by some American demographers as the "seed-bed of the nation," and, since Negroes have formed the bulk of the net out-migration from the South, speculation regarding population changes in the area usually involves special consideration of the effects of Negro migration. The present paper deals with the changes in the racial composition of the 1940 population of the Southern states due to internal migration between 1935 and 1940.<sup>1</sup>

\* Manuscript received February 12, 1948.

<sup>1</sup> The discussion to follow is based upon data derived from the following question asked by the 1940 Census of Population: "In what place did this person live on April 1, 1935?" The data resulting from the answer to this question, coupled with the place of enumeration in 1940, afforded the first opportunity to analyze for the nation as a whole the amount and direction of internal migration of vari-

A necessary preliminary is the determination of the net migration between 1935 and 1940 for the total and Negro population of the Southern states by urban, rural-non-farm and rural-farm areas. The small group of migrants for whom information was not sufficient to establish whether their 1935

ous population segments during a definite period of time. These data have certain limitations. They do not indicate, for example, all the different moves that were made between 1935 and 1940. This precludes any empirical determination of the extent of migration by stages during the period. Furthermore, they do not include as migrants persons who moved out of an area during the period and returned before the census was taken, nor do they include migrants who died after migrating and before the census date, or migrants who were born after April 1, 1935. Thus, the amounts of migration during the period is probably grossly understated. The data show only the result of migration over a five-year period as indicated by place of residence in 1935 and place of residence in 1940 of persons who lived in different counties (or quasi counties) on April 1 of these two years. Moreover, the period covered was a depression period and does not reflect the influence of the later defense and war industrial migration. The discussion to follow should be viewed within the perspective of these limitations.



place of residence was an urban or rural area has been omitted. These formed 1.2 per cent of the total Southern migrants, and 1.4 per cent of the Southern Negro migrants. Migrants who reported rural residences in 1935 but did not specify whether or not they lived on a farm on that date were classified by the Census as "rural, no report on farm or non-farm residence in 1935." These were assigned to farm and non-farm classes in proportion to the distribution of migrants from rural areas for whom such classification was available. The net interstate migration for the total population and the net interstate and intrastate migration for each type of area (urban, rural-nonfarm and rural-farm) were then determined for each Southern state for the period 1935 to 1940.<sup>2</sup> Total net migration for a specific type of area would be, of course, the algebraic sum of net interstate and net intrastate migration for the area. In determining the effect of migration upon the 1940 population of a specific type of area, the total net migration for the area was subtracted algebraically from the 1940 population of the area to obtain the 1940 population had there been no migration. These adjusted 1940 population figures were then compared with the actual 1940 population figures to determine the nature and extent of the changes.

While the chief purpose of the net migration data here is their employment in measuring relative changes in the population of the Southern states due to migration, some interesting facts regarding the relative amount of net migration can be observed from the figures themselves. As a result of interstate migration between 1935 and 1940, the Southern states had a net loss of more than 226,000 inhabitants. This included net losses of more than 216,000 rural-farm inhabitants and more than 51,000 urban inhabitants and a net gain of more than

41,000 rural-nonfarm inhabitants. During this same period the Southern states had a net loss of approximately 97,000 Negro inhabitants, which included net losses of approximately 42,000 urban Negroes, 11,000 rural-nonfarm Negroes and 44,000 rural-farm Negroes.<sup>3</sup>

An interesting racial differential was observable in both the net interstate and intrastate migration data. The rural-nonfarm areas, which include villages and suburbs for the most part, gained in total population but lost Negro population through interstate migration.<sup>4</sup> While the total rural-nonfarm population of the Southern states was increased by approximately 41,000 by interstate migration, the Negro rural-nonfarm population of the Southern states was decreased by approximately 10,000 persons by interstate migration. This suggests that the net interstate rural-nonfarm movement of the white population was to the villages and to the rural periphery of urban centers of the South, but the net interstate rural-nonfarm movement of Negroes was away from the Southern villages to the urban centers of the South and North. It is possible that suburbanization was a factor in the increase in the total rural-nonfarm population of the Southern states. Between 1930 and 1940 the population of the central cities of the metropolitan districts set up by the United States Census increased 6.1 per cent while the population surrounding the central cities increased 16.9 per cent.<sup>5</sup> Vance calculated the increase for the Southeast

<sup>2</sup> The data in this paper regarding Negro migration actually pertain to nonwhite migration, but nonwhite migration is treated as synonymous with Negro migration for the purposes of this paper. This is not without some validity for the area under consideration. There are not many non-Negro nonwhites to leave the South (approximately 99 per cent of the South's nonwhite population in 1930 as well as in 1940 was Negro), and there is scarcely any nonwhite in-migration to the South other than Negro in-migration.

<sup>3</sup> The total rural-nonfarm population of the Southern states had net gains through both interstate and intrastate migration.

<sup>4</sup> Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, *Population, First Series, United States Summary*, Table 18.

<sup>5</sup> Residence in 1940 in a state other than the state of residence in 1935 was defined as interstate migration. Residence in different counties of the same state in 1935 and 1940 was defined as intrastate migration. Tables showing these net migration data are available from the writer and will be sent to interested readers upon request.

TABLE 1. ACTUAL PER CENT OF THE TOTAL, URBAN, RURAL-NONFARM AND RURAL-FARM POPULATION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES WHICH WAS NEGRO IN 1940 AS COMPARED WITH THE PER CENT OF EACH WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN NEGRO IN 1940 ASSUMING NO MIGRATION BETWEEN 1935 AND 1940, BOTH SEXES COMBINED

State	Negro Population as Per Cent of 1940 Population								Amount of Change in Actual Per Cent Due to Migration, 1935 to 1940*			
	Total		Urban		Rural-Nonfarm		Rural-Farm					
	Actual	Assuming No Migration	Actual	Assuming No Migration	Actual	Assuming No Migration	Actual	Assuming No Migration	Total	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm
Total	24.0	24.1	23.7	23.8	18.8	19.1	27.4	27.3	-0.1	-0.1	-0.3	+0.1
South Atlantic States	26.5	26.8	26.1	26.5	21.0	21.3	31.4	31.6	-0.3	-0.4	-0.3	-0.2
Delaware	13.5	13.6	13.2	13.3	13.0	13.4	15.1	15.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.4	+0.1
Maryland	16.6	16.8	17.3	17.2	14.4	15.2	17.9	18.3	-0.2	-0.1	-0.8	-0.4
District of Columbia	28.4	28.3	28.4	28.3	—	—	—	—	+0.1	+0.1	—	—
Virginia	24.7	25.4	25.5	26.5	21.2	22.4	26.6	26.6	-0.7	-1.0	-1.2	0.0
West Virginia	6.2	5.8	6.4	6.4	9.5	8.2	0.8	0.9	+0.4	0.0	+1.3	-0.1
North Carolina	28.1	28.3	30.7	30.9	21.7	22.2	30.2	30.1	-0.2	-0.2	-0.5	+0.1
South Carolina	43.0	43.8	36.6	37.7	29.4	30.9	53.7	54.1	-0.8	-1.1	-1.5	-0.4
Georgia	34.7	35.4	35.4	35.9	28.7	30.8	37.3	37.6	-0.7	-0.5	-1.1	-0.3
Florida	27.2	28.1	27.4	28.5	26.9	27.9	26.3	26.8	-0.9	-1.1	-1.0	-0.5
East South Central States	25.8	25.8	28.2	28.0	18.5	18.6	27.7	27.6	0.0	+0.2	-0.1	+0.1
Kentucky	7.5	7.4	13.7	13.5	7.5	7.5	3.3	3.3	+0.1	+0.2	0.0	0.0
Tennessee	17.4	17.3	27.5	26.9	10.4	10.5	12.8	12.7	-0.1	+0.6	-0.1	+0.1
Alabama	34.7	34.8	36.9	36.9	29.7	29.7	35.7	35.8	-0.1	0.0	0.0	-0.1
Mississippi	49.3	49.5	41.1	42.1	34.9	35.4	55.3	55.4	-0.2	-0.1	-0.5	-0.1
West South Central States	19.1	18.9	17.8	17.7	15.3	15.2	22.5	22.2	+0.2	+0.1	+0.1	+0.3
Arkansas	24.8	24.3	24.3	24.0	19.7	19.3	26.8	26.4	+0.5	+0.3	+0.4	+0.4
Louisiana	36.0	36.5	32.0	32.5	29.0	30.2	44.7	44.9	-0.5	-0.5	-1.2	-0.2
Oklahoma	9.9	9.5	9.9	9.6	8.6	7.9	10.7	10.3	+0.4	+0.3	+0.7	+0.4
Texas	14.4	14.5	14.4	14.5	11.1	11.1	16.5	16.5	-0.1	-0.1	0.0	0.0

\* A plus sign (+) indicates that the actual per cent of Negroes was increased by migration. A minus sign (-) indicates that the actual per cent of Negroes was decreased by migration.

Source: Tables 2 and 4 and Sixteenth Census of the United States, *Population, Vol. II*, "Characteristics of the Population," Table 5 for each state.

(Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana) and found that the central cities of these states increased 15.5 per cent between 1930 and 1940 while the population surrounding the central cities increased 42.2 per cent.<sup>6</sup> Finally, it is worth noting that the net interstate loss of 20,881 rural-farm Negroes by the South Atlantic states comprised more than 80 per cent of their total net interstate loss of 25,816 rural-farm population, although Negroes were only 31 per cent of the 1940 total rural-farm population of the South Atlantic states.

<sup>6</sup> Rupert B. Vance, *All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945, p. 37.

The most significant racial differential in the intrastate migration of the Southern states was that between the total urban and the Negro urban population. As a result of net intrastate migration between 1935 and 1940, the total urban population of the Southern states was decreased by more than 19,000 persons but the Southern urban Negro population was increased by more than 14,000. This increase in the Southern urban Negro population through intrastate migration was due chiefly to the movement of Negro females to Southern urban areas for the Southern urban Negro male population actually decreased 2,222 as a result of intrastate migration. The urban Negro female population increased in 12 of the 16 Southern states as a result of intrastate migration

while the urban Negro male population increased in only 7 of the 16 Southern states. In the interstate movement between 1935 and 1940, more Negroes left Southern rural-nonfarm areas than went to Southern rural-nonfarm areas, while in the intrastate movement, the rural-nonfarm areas gained Negro population at the expense of the rural-farm areas. This suggests, but does not establish, the validity of the migration-by-stages hypothesis.

Table 1 compares the actual per cent of the total, urban, rural-nonfarm and rural-farm population of the Southern states

the 1940 population of all types of areas of the West South Central states. In the East South Central states, migration made relatively no change in the racial composition of the total 1940 population although it "darkened" the urban and rural-farm population and "lightened" the rural-nonfarm population. For the Southern states as a whole, migration "darkened" the rural-farm population but "lightened" the urban and rural-nonfarm population as well as the total population.

Since the Southern states lost both total and Negro population as a result of migra-

TABLE 2. NATURE OF THE CHANGES CAUSED BY MIGRATION BETWEEN 1935 AND 1940 IN THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE 1940 POPULATION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES, BY TYPES OF AREAS

States	Changes in 1940 Population Caused by Migration*			
	Total	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm
Total Southern States	-	-	-	+
South Atlantic	-	-	-	-
East South Central	o	+	-	+
West South Central	+	+	+	+

\* Plus (+) indicates "darkening" of population.  
Minus (-) indicates "lightening" of population.  
Zero (o) indicates relatively no change.

which was Negro in 1940 with the per cent which would have been Negro in 1940 assuming no migration between 1935 and 1940. The per cent changes were slight, due probably to the short period of time and large number of persons involved in the base populations. We shall refer to an increase in the 1940 proportion due to migration as a "darkening" of the population and a decrease in the proportion as a "lightening" of the population.

A glance at Table 1 reveals interesting variations between different geographic sections of the South. If a plus sign (+) is used to indicate a "darkening" of the population and a minus sign (-) to denote a "lightening" of the population, the situation for various groupings of Southern states may be represented as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that migration "lightened" the 1940 population of all types of areas of the South Atlantic states and "darkened"

tion between 1935 and 1940, the process of "lightening" of the total population must be interpreted as meaning that these states were losing Negro population in greater proportion than white population. The "lightening" of the urban population appears to have resulted from an excessive loss of Negroes in interstate migration. While the total urban population was decreased both by interstate and intrastate migration, and the Negro urban population was increased by intrastate migration, the number of Southern urban Negroes lost as a result of interstate migration (42,308) was almost as great as the total Southern urban population lost through interstate migration (51,730). On the other hand, while the total rural-nonfarm population of the Southern states was increasing as a result of both interstate and intrastate migration, the Negro rural-nonfarm population was decreasing as a result of interstate migration, re-

sulting in a "lightening" of this part of the total population. Finally, it appears that whites were leaving rural-farm areas in greater proportion than Negroes. Although Negroes constituted approximately 27 per cent of the 1940 rural-farm population of the Southern states, their net out-migration from Southern rural-farm areas was only about 23 per cent of the total net out-migration from these areas.

Recapitulating now as to the effects of migration between 1935 and 1940 upon the proportion of the total, urban, rural-nonfarm and rural-farm population of the Southern states which was Negro in 1940, we find that: (1) the total population of the Southern states was "lightened," for while these states lost both white and Negro population as a result of migration, they lost Negro population in greater proportion than white population; (2) the population of urban and rural-nonfarm areas of the South-

ern states was "lightened" and the population of rural-farm areas was "darkened" as a result of migration; (3) the "lightening" of the urban population resulted from an excessively heavy loss of Negroes in the interstate migration; (4) while the total rural-nonfarm population was increasing as a result of both interstate and intrastate migration, the Negro rural-nonfarm population was decreasing, resulting in a "lightening" of this part of the population of the Southern states; (5) whites left Southern rural-farm areas in greater proportion than Negroes between 1935 and 1940, Negroes comprising approximately 27 per cent of the total rural-farm population but forming only 23 per cent of the total rural-farm net out-migration of the Southern states; and (6) in general, the changes in racial composition due to migration during the period covered were relatively small.

## ANOTHER COMMENTARY ON SO-CALLED SEGREGATION INDICES\* †

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THE *American Sociological Review* has recently published two valuable, and somewhat controversial, articles on "segregation indices."<sup>1</sup> They deal with the following question: given census tract population data, how should we define the amount of Negro segregation in a city? We need some such measure for a city as a whole, if we are going to compare the

amount of segregation in various cities, or in one city from time to time. To facilitate such comparisons, it is convenient to have an index with the range 0 to 1 in every city; and the problem was so defined. Although neither paper points it out, this problem is quite general; it is in no way limited to ecology. It is to define measures of association for a contingency table with only two columns; that is, where one of the attributes, like Negro and non-Negro, is dichotomous. Instead of a minority and dominant group, we may, for instance, compare men and women, an experimental and control group, and so forth. Likewise, the manifold attribute need not be location. If there is anything special about the residential segregation problem, it is that there are a large number of census tracts roughly equal in population; that is, that the row totals of the contingency table are approximately

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<sup>1</sup> Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid and Clarence Schrag, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," XII, No. 3, June 1947, 293-303; and Richard A. Hornseth, "A Note on 'The Measurement of Ecological Segregation' . . .," XII, No. 5, October, 1947, 603-604.



equal and small in comparison with the column totals.<sup>2</sup> I propose to deal with the problem in this broader context.

The previous papers discuss four different indices of segregation, but neither one mentions the classic measure of association, which is chi square. To convert chi square for a table with two columns into an index with the range 0 to 1, we merely divide it by the total population. The quotient is called the mean square contingency, or phi square. As I shall show, two of the proposed indices are nothing but special applications of phi; in one case for a particular fourfold table, in the other for the 2 by k table. Furthermore, the familiar approach to the 2 by k table is more easily generalized than the proposed alternative.

The research worker who must select an index for a particular problem, finds contradictory advice in the two papers. The first warns him that theoretically any number of indices satisfying certain criteria can be devised, and tells him to pick the one that correlates best with whatever variable he wishes to predict.<sup>3</sup> This is, perhaps, a counsel of perfection; certainly of despair. We can seldom try out more than a few indices, and need some further principle of selection. The second paper in effect advises him to reduce every problem to fourfold table analysis. It dismisses one of the fourfold table indices, without appreciating its usefulness in my opinion, and recommends the other as the only one of the four "worthy of consideration" so far as segregation research at this stage in the development of sociology is concerned.<sup>4</sup> I doubt if sociologists would agree that fourfold table analysis is good enough for all segregation research; and no one has claimed that it is

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ralph Turner called my attention to the problem of the occupational segregation of Negroes, where the smaller column total (the Negro population) may be less than the row total of the category (unskilled workers) where the Negroes would be assumed to be if the segregation were complete. A slight adjustment would be necessary in the denominator of any of the indices under discussion in this case, if the upper limit is to be precisely one.

<sup>3</sup> Jahn, Schmid and Schrag, *op. cit.*, pp. 293, 303.

<sup>4</sup> Hornseth, *op. cit.*, p. 604.

good enough for all contingency problems here considered where one attribute is dichotomous. I shall try to simplify the problem of selecting an index, without over-simplifying it.

I begin with an analysis of the criteria for a useful index. (Despite the generality of the problem, I shall follow the example of the previous papers and speak in terms of Negro segregation, to keep the discussion concrete.) The first criterion listed by Jahn,<sup>5</sup> Schmid and Schrag was that an index for any city should have the range 0 to 1, corresponding respectively to no segregation (or independence) and complete segregation (or perfect association). This involves two assumptions. (1) The range does not depend on the proportion of Negroes in a city. This means, for instance, that we consider a city unsegregated, even though 95% of the population is Negro, provided that the few whites are scattered in proper proportion in every census tract. There are some contexts in which we should consider such a city highly segregated, but for other purposes the assumption is legitimate. (2) We also assume that the average census tract population from city to city is approximately the same. Otherwise, no segregation is a more stringent condition in cities with smaller tracts. We would not, for instance, compare block data in one city with tract data in another. This, I think, is just a special application of the general principle that we cannot make a more refined comparison than the cruder part of our data permits.

Another, and crucial, criterion in the original paper was the following: "... a satisfactory measure of ecological segregation should... not be distorted by the size of the total population, the proportion of Negroes, or the area of a city."<sup>6</sup> Distortion is usually a deviation from some norm. A story is distorted if it does not accord with the facts. But initially, no norm for the amount of segregation is defined, except at the two limits, 0 and 1. In the case of the area, the meaning is clear: an index should not be a

<sup>5</sup> Jahn, Schmid and Schrag, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

function of the area of a city. In the case of the total population, and the proportion of Negroes, I am not sure what is meant. If it merely means that the range should be independent of the total population and the proportion of Negroes, we have already discussed the implications.

The original list omits two criteria which, I imagine, were implicit in the authors' thinking. In the first place, there is no reference to the fact that we expect an index to increase in some *systematic* way, as segregation—whatever we mean by it—increases. A rigorous statement of this idea must be expressed in terms of the only two amounts of segregation that are initially defined: no segregation and complete segregation. We therefore introduce the concept of a city in which every tract is either completely segregated or else not segregated at all. The city has a white area which is 100% white, a Negro area which is 100% Negro, and an unsegregated area where the proportion of Negroes is the same as in the city as a whole. The populations of all three areas are determined by the proportion of all Negroes living in the Negro area, if the total population and total Negro population are fixed. Anyone who accepts the range criterion would probably agree that "segregation" increases as the proportion of Negroes in the Negro area increases. We can therefore add the criterion that the index should increase monotonically (consistently) as this proportion increases, if all other Negroes live in an unsegregated area.

In the second place, the denominator of an index is the value of some measure for complete segregation. Our conception of complete segregation does not depend on the tract boundaries within the two areas. In other words, if the segregation is complete, it does not matter how the populations of individual tracts within the two areas, vary. We can therefore require as a final criterion, that the maximum value of the measure of segregation be independent of the populations of individual tracts. Otherwise, in order to evaluate an index, we must make some assumption about the populations of the tracts where the Negroes would live if the

segregation were complete.<sup>6</sup>

We may now summarize these criteria, which, I think, are minimal criteria for a useful index. Since an awkward notation is responsible for part of the confusion, I shall take the liberty of introducing a simpler one. In this paper,

$N$  is the Negro population of the city

$W$  is the White (non-Negro) population of the city

$T$ , or  $N + W$  is the total population

For any sub-area we use a subscript:  $N_i$ ,  $W_i$  and  $T_i$ , are respectively the Negro, white and total populations of Tract No.  $i$ , and so forth. In the  $i$ -th tract,  $N_i/T_i$  is the proportion of the population which is Negro. As in Hornseth's paper, the total number of tracts is  $k$ . The criteria can now be stated as follows:

- (1) An index should be based on a single-valued, non-negative function of the proportions of Negroes in the tracts, and the tract populations:  $f(N_i/T_i, T_i)$ .
- (2) The function should have a minimum for the range  $0 \leq N_i/T_i \leq 1$  if and only if  $N_i/T_i = N/T$  for  $i = 1, 2, \dots, k$ .
- (3) And a maximum for the same range if and only if  $N_i = T_i$  in one set of tracts for which  $\sum T_i = N$ , and  $N_i = 0$  in the remaining tracts. (Then  $[f - f_{\min}]$  divided by its maximum value, is an index with the required range, 0 to 1.)
- (4) The maximum and minimum values should be independent of the individual  $T_i$ 's.
- (5) In the special case where all Negroes (and hence all whites) live either in a completely segregated area, or in an unsegregated area, an index should increase monotonically as the proportion of all Negroes in the 100% Negro area increases.

I now summarize the definitions of the

<sup>6</sup>For this reason neither a standard deviation index, nor a mean difference ("Gini") index, can be based on the dispersion of the *differences* between observed and expected *numbers* of Negroes. In the original paper they were based on the dispersion of the frequency distribution of the *proportions* of the tract populations which are Negro, where the frequencies are the tract populations (or the numbers of tracts, if the tracts are assumed to be equal).

three important indices, paraphrasing the preceding articles, and discuss their relation to chi square. The first index, "I<sub>1</sub>" was defined as the difference between the proportion of all Negroes, and the proportion of all whites, in a certain area, called "area 1." The area is in the heart of Negro community and is just large enough to accommodate all the Negroes of the city.<sup>7</sup> We can visualize it as the area where the Black Ghetto would be if there were one. I shall accordingly refer to it as the Ghetto, and to the first index as the Ghetto index. Hornseth made the important observation that the fourth index is an index of the same form for a different fourfold table.<sup>8</sup> We may call the area the "Negro section" to distinguish it from the Ghetto. It is the set of tracts where more than the expected numbers of Negroes live. For instance, if 10% of the population of a city is Negro, the "Negro section" consists of all tracts where more than 10% of the population is Negro. The fourth index is the difference between the proportion of all Negroes, and the proportion of all whites, living in this "Negro section." If we keep this definition in mind, it is clear that the original paper was correct in stating that this index has an upper limit of 1.<sup>9</sup>

We shall now compare these indices with more familiar measures of association in a fourfold table. In a conventional notation, the cell frequencies are a, b, c, and d. The two indices are both of the form:

$$(1) \quad \frac{a}{a+c} - \frac{b}{b+d}$$

or,

$$(2) \quad \frac{ad-bc}{(a+c)(b+d)}$$

<sup>7</sup> More precisely, it is a set of tracts with a total population equal to the Negro population of the city, and of all such sets it is the one with the largest number of Negroes living in it. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 295-296.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 604. The fourth index was originally derived from the mean deviation of the differences between observed and expected numbers of Negroes. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Hornseth apparently forgot in his last para-

In a fourfold table, the root-mean-square contingency, phi, and Tschuprow's T and the Pearsonian r are all identical.<sup>10</sup>

$$(3) \quad \phi = \frac{ad-bc}{\sqrt{(a+c)(b+d)(a+b)(c+d)}}$$

By definition of the Ghetto, the row totals and column totals are respectively equal, and in this case phi reduces to (2). The Ghetto index is thus a special case of the root-mean-square contingency, phi; the ingenious thing about it is the Ghetto concept. Its usefulness for sociology I shall discuss in a moment. The "Negro section" index is *not*, in general, the same as phi. It is more appropriate for the purpose. For, in the limiting case of no segregation, the "Negro section" vanishes; one row total is zero, and (3) is indeterminate, but (2) has a clearly defined value, 0.<sup>11</sup>

In the original paper, the second index "I<sub>2</sub>" was derived from the standard deviation of the proportions, N<sub>i</sub>/T<sub>i</sub> of Negroes in the tracts. It was defined only for the problems where the tracts could be used as equivalent units. This restriction would limit the usefulness of the computation formula as given. However, it is easily shown that the second index is the same as phi for

graph, that the area is a function of the distribution; he uses the same area for two different distributions, and concludes that the upper limit is less than 1. Cf. also footnote 2.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., 1941), pp. 513, 514.

<sup>11</sup> In practice, we should define the "Negro section" as the set of tracts where the number of Negroes is *significantly* greater than the expectation, at some arbitrary level of significance, say .003. That is,

$$N_i > (N/T)T_i + 3 \sqrt{\frac{NWT_i}{T^2}}$$

or, for instance, if Negroes are 10% of the population,

$$N_i > .10T_i + .90\sqrt{T_i}$$

or

$$N_i/T_i > .10 + \frac{.90}{\sqrt{T_i}}$$

This is 11% in tracts over 5000, and 12% or even 13% in unusually small tracts.

the 2 by k table. If we assume the tracts equal, both can be written in the form:<sup>12</sup>

$$(4) \quad \sqrt{\frac{k \sum N_i^2 - N^2}{NW}}$$

If the row totals are not equal, phi square is given by the following formula:

$$(5) \quad \phi^2 = \frac{T}{NW} \sum \left( \frac{N_i^2}{T_i} \right) - \frac{N}{W}$$

Phi is more easily generalized than the standard deviation index to problems with more than one minority group; that is, to contingency tables with more than two columns. If there are t minority groups, or (t + 1) columns,

$$\phi/\sqrt{t}$$

is an index with the desired range. Phi is therefore a more fruitful approach to the measurement of association. We may consider the standard deviation index a special case of the root-mean-square contingency, phi.

We shall now consider the fourfold table indices, and phi, in relation to the criteria and to certain sociological problems. All three indices satisfy the five criteria, as does a mean difference or "Gini" index.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting to compare them for the special case where every tract is either completely segregated or else not segregated at all. If we express each index as a function of the proportion, p, of Negroes in the Negro area on this hypothesis,

<sup>12</sup> Chi square here is called the binomial index of dispersion. Cf. Paul G. Hoel, *Introduction to Mathematical Statistics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1947), pp. 195-197.

<sup>13</sup> The directions for computing the Gini index are misleading. Cf. Jahn, Schmid, Schrag, *op. cit.* pp. 298-9. The mean difference is defined as the mean of the absolute values of all possible variate differences including those that vanish. To avoid absolute values in computation, the variate is first ranked. The tracts must therefore be arranged in rank order according to the proportions  $N_i/T_i$ , although it is the percentages  $(N_i/N)100$  that are written in column (2). Furthermore, either col. (2) or col. (3), but not both, must be in decimals rather than per cent; otherwise the constants in the formula for  $I_2$  should be 10,000 instead of 100.

$$p = \frac{\text{Negroes in 100\% Negro area}}{N}$$

and

Ghetto index,  $I_1 = p$

Negro section index,  $I_2 = p$

Standard deviation index,  $I_3 = \Phi = \sqrt{p}$

Mean difference index<sup>14</sup> =  $2p - p^2$

The last two equations are parabolic. The mean square contingency, phi square, whether or not the tracts are equal =  $p^{15}$

This raises the question whether it would be desirable to add a criterion that an index should be proportional to the ratio, p, on this hypothesis. It would mean, for instance, that if 50% of the Negroes in one such city and only 25% in another lived in the Negro section, the indices would have the ratio 2 to 1. But are we sure that the first city is "twice as much segregated" as the other? I think not. For if we were to compare the proportions of Negroes who were living in the *unsegregated* area, we should have 50% and 75%, respectively, in the two cities, and the ratio would no longer be 2 to 1. This shows, I think, that as far as intuition goes, we simply do not know what we mean by the amount of segregation, even in this very simple case, and that the proposed criterion would be unduly arbitrary.

As Jahn, Schmid and Schrag point out, there is no single best index; the choice depends on our purpose.<sup>16</sup> To be more specific, we may have to weigh several considera-

<sup>14</sup> This is based on the evaluation of the mean difference and its maximum directly from the definition, on the assumption that the average tract size is the same in the three areas.

<sup>15</sup> This analysis also throws light on the inter-correlations of the indices for small samples of cities, as reported in the original article (*Ibid.* p. 301). In a sample of cities satisfying the above hypothesis, neither the standard deviation index, nor the mean difference index would be linear functions of either fourfold table index. Whether or not the hypothesis is realistic, the special case is sufficient to show that the two very high linear correlation coefficients, for the sample of American cities ( $r_{12} = .96$ ,  $N_{12} = .25$ ;  $r_{13} = .91$ ,  $N_{13} = .44$ ), are not implicit in the definitions.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.



tions. If we wish our research to contribute to a systematic body of knowledge, we choose an index that is comparable with measures used in the relevant research literature. We may need an index that is applicable to more general but related problems. It is often important that the sampling distribution be known. If it is important that our findings be understood by persons with no training in statistics, we may prefer an index that can be interpreted in concrete terms, and expressed in a very simple formula. In general, to minimize the time and cost, we want an index that is easy to compute, and that will have linear, rather than curvilinear, relationships with other variables that interest us.

An index based on chi square, such as phi or phi square, is satisfactory with respect to comparability, generality and under certain assumptions, sampling theory. In general, I should think it as good an index as any, if  $k$  is not too large. Either fourfold table index, however, is simpler to explain to laymen and to compute. The choice between them probably depends on the linearity of the correlations; that is, on whether the correlates that interest us are subject to a cumulative effect which makes a single large deviation from expectation more significant than a number of small ones with the same total. A high concentration of minority group members in a small area probably does, as a matter of fact, foster segregated institutions, specialized services, distinctive cultural patterns, and so forth. But I doubt if there is much sociological significance to the fact that a few more Negroes than the statistical expectation live in a large number of tracts. If the Ghetto is considerably smaller than the "Negro section," the Ghetto index weights the large deviations. Mr. Hornseth argues that the use of the smaller area "involves a loss of information," and prefers the "Negro section" index, but I think it possible to lose the significant information in an average for

the larger area.<sup>17</sup> Since there are actually Ghetto-like areas, the Ghetto index may correspond very closely to an area recognized by local residents. It is meaningful to ask to what extent the Ghetto survives. If, on the other hand, there is no area of high concentration, nor any historical precedent for one, the Ghetto does strike us as an unrealistic statistical abstraction.<sup>18</sup> The "Negro section," however, is even less likely to correspond to common sense notions. But it too answers a meaningful question. If we ask "What proportion of the Negroes would have to be rehoused in white neighborhoods, if segregation were to be abolished?" the "Negro section" index provides the answer, adjusted so that the upper limit is 1.<sup>19</sup> Probably both indices have a function in research.<sup>20</sup> The most valuable contribution of the previous papers is perhaps to have made available, for the analysis of association in contingency tables with two columns, two different fourfold table indices, either one of which may be useful when it is not worthwhile to compute chi square.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 604.

<sup>18</sup> In the problem of the occupational segregation of Negroes, occupational categories play the role of census tracts, and the Ghetto would mean a set of jobs traditionally filled by Negroes, large enough to employ all Negro workers. This corresponds to "the Negro's place." Likewise, in the case of the occupational segregation of women, there are jobs recognized as women's work.

<sup>19</sup> If we use a subscript  $s$  to denote the "Negro section," the fourth index is  $N_s/N - W_s/W$ . This can be written

$$\frac{T}{W} \frac{\left[ N_s - \frac{N}{T} T_s \right]}{N}$$

The expression in brackets is the excess number of Negroes over expectation; and the constant of proportionality is the reciprocal of its value for complete segregation.

<sup>20</sup> The "Negro section" index is used as a "coefficient of linkage" to measure the extent to which two industries tend to be located in the same regions in PEP (Political and Economic Planning) *Report on the Location of Industry* (London: PEP, 1939), pp. 292-293.

## DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANT POPULATION IN CHICAGO\*

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The manner in which migrants to the city are distributed within the city is of considerable practical and theoretical importance. Historically, the characteristic form of growth of the American metropolis has been related to the initial settlement of groups of foreign migrants near the center of the city and their movement outward as successive waves of new immigrant groups entered the central slum areas. Since migrants from within the United States have replaced foreign migrants as a source of new population, significant changes in the ecological organization of the city may be anticipated insofar as the settlement pattern of these internal migrants is found to differ from that of the older foreign migrants.

From another point of view, the present settlement pattern of cityward migrants is also of considerable importance insofar as migration may be used as one index of mobility, because variations in mobility are frequently cited as an important factor in explaining distinctive urban phenomena. It is true that migration and mobility are usually distinguished from each other. Migration involves a change in spatial location, while mobility is defined in terms of changes in experience and social situation. Migration is used as one index of mobility on the assumption that, on the average, the migrant is more likely than the non-migrant to experience a break in routine and the challenge of new social relationships, even where his move is between similar social situations. Insofar as migration is an index of mobility, information on the pattern of settlement of migrants is significant for theories relating the distribution of certain phenomena to the distribution of mobile populations.

Despite these significant implications of the distribution of migrants in the city, very

few empirical studies have been made in this field due to the lack of systematic data. It is now possible to make such studies in the United States on the basis of the 1940 census data. This is a report of one such study on the selective distribution of recent migrants to Chicago among the sub-areas of the city in 1940.

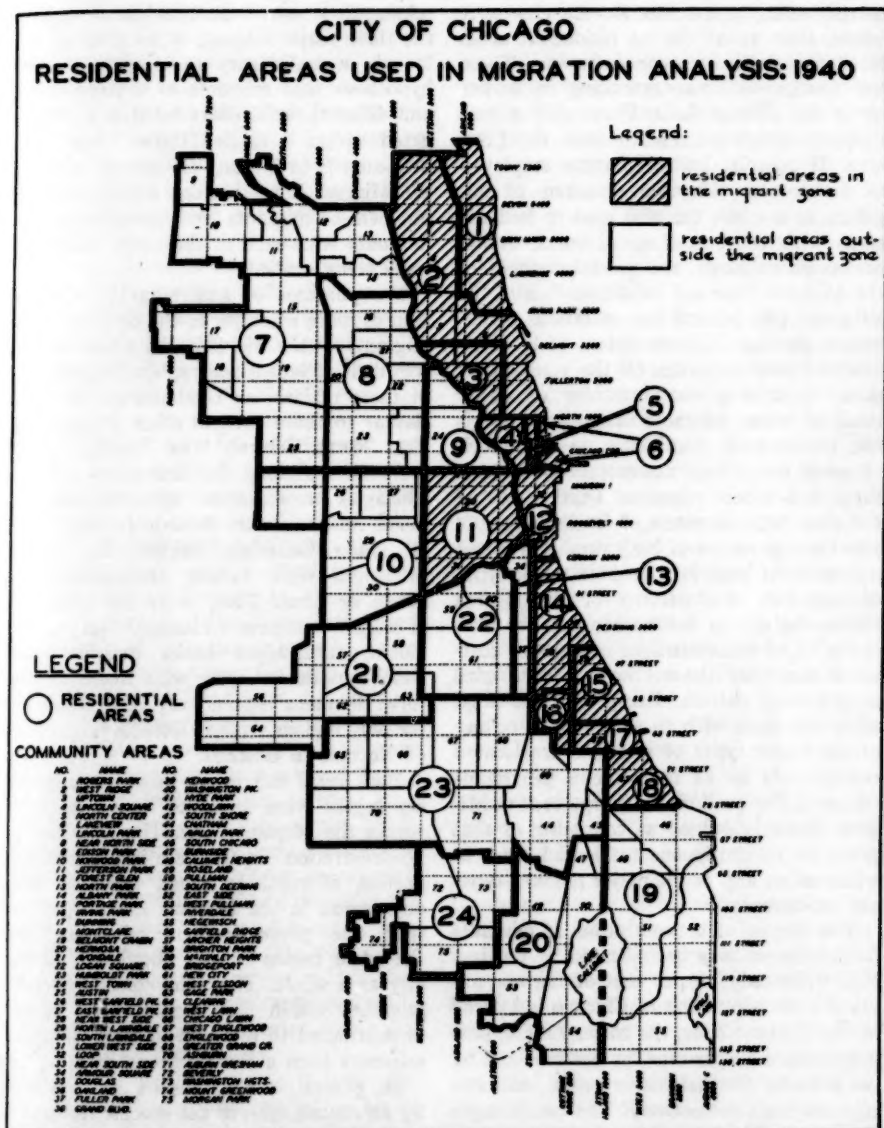
The data were derived from a special tabulation of 1940 census data for 24 sub-areas of Chicago. The migrants are persons who lived in Chicago in 1940 but who lived elsewhere in 1935. The 24 residential areas into which Chicago was divided for purposes of this migration analysis were demarcated by Professors Louis Wirth and Ernest W. Burgess as units which are relatively homogeneous and yet large enough to include a sufficient number of migrants to justify a detailed analysis. Most of the 24 areas consist of combinations of census tracts and community areas readily identifiable with distinctive areas which have been treated in previous Chicago studies.

The aspects of this investigation to be reported here center about two sets of findings which may be summarized as follows:

1. Migrants of widely different social characteristics and places of origin tend to be concentrated together within a single group of distinctive contiguous areas to be designated as a Migrant Zone.
2. The Migrant Zone consists of the areas with "typically urban" living arrangements which are strung along the main rapid transit arteries running out of central loop areas. These areas are not exclusively near the center of the city; they do not follow the settlement pattern of older foreign migrants; and the migrant populations are not distributed in a gradient pattern with reference to the center of the city.

First of all, the data indicate that the

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CHICAGO CENSUS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN THE MIGRANT ZONE

migrants were concentrated in a distinctive contiguous group of areas to be designated henceforth as the Migrant Zone. If an area

is defined as having a concentration of migrants when the proportion of its population who are migrants is higher than the

corresponding proportion for the city as a whole, then 11 of the 24 residential areas in Chicago have such concentrations. These are contiguous areas extending in a tier along the Chicago Lake Front with a contiguous westward extension from the Loop area. If criteria similar to those employed to find areas with concentrations of migrants as a whole are also used to find the areas with concentrations of rural, urban, or foreign migrants, the general outlines of the Migrant Zone are validated. Ten of the 11 areas with general concentrations of migrants also have concentrations of both urban and rural migrants. Of the 4 additional areas containing concentrations of either rural or urban migrants alone, only one is not immediately contiguous to the block of areas containing concentrations of both rural and urban migrants. Further, all of the areas with an excess of foreign migrants also have an excess of both rural and urban migrants. At least for the three major types of migrants, the pattern of distribution within the city is neither random nor does it consist of concentrations in areas so scattered that they do not have a significant geographical pattern. Except for one area, all of the areas with an excess of all or any of the major types of migrants are located contiguously so as to define a geographical zone. For preliminary purposes, the Migrant Zone is defined as consisting of that group of 13 contiguous residential areas in which all or any of the major migrant types are concentrated.<sup>1</sup>

The degree of concentration of migrants in these areas may be indicated by the fact that while only 36 per cent of the non-migrant male population of Chicago is located in the Migrant Zone, the corresponding proportions are 64 per cent, 55 per cent and 62 per cent for the male urban, rural, and foreign migrants respectively. The comparative distribution for females is of a similar character.

The tentative location of the Migrant Zone as a group of contiguous areas con-

taining disproportionate numbers of each of the three major migrant types of either sex is only a preliminary to investigating the hypothesis that migrants of different types and different social characteristics are segregated within a single Migrant Zone. The next step is to indicate the extent to which the Migrant Zone contains disproportionate numbers of migrants from each region and migrants with each of the social characteristics being studied.

For purposes of analyzing the relationship of place of origin to the distribution of migrants within the city, the United States was divided into 8 geographical regions. Six of these regions are combinations of states similar to those used in other studies (e.g. East North Central, West North Central, etc.). In addition, the immediate area of Chicago's metropolitan influence was divided into an Inner Suburban Region and an Outer Suburban Region. The places of origin were further sub-classified as urban or rural. Thus, there are 16 place-of-origin categories classified on a regional, rural-urban basis. Separate sub-classifications for color were made for the three Southern regions only, since these are the only regions sending sizeable proportions of Negroes to Chicago.

Both rural and urban migrants from every region were found to be concentrated within the Migrant Zone. The definition of "concentration" in this case is that the proportion of rural or urban migrants from any region in the Migrant Zone is greater than the proportion of migrants from the same region in the population of the city as a whole. Thus, the concentration of migrants within the Migrant Zone cannot be attributed to selection of rural or urban migrants from a limited group of areas.

In general, similar results are achieved by an examination of the specific residential areas in which the urban and rural migrants from each region were concentrated. The only notable exceptions in this more detailed analysis are the migrant groups from the Suburban regions which will be considered separately at a later point. With a few exceptions for individual areas, the evi-

<sup>1</sup> A map of Chicago, showing the location of the Migrant Zone is appended.



dence indicates that there was a disproportionate concentration of both urban and rural migrants from every region in the Migrant Zone.

It may also be established that the concentration within the Migrant Zone was not limited to migrants of particular social characteristics. Migrants with any of the specific characteristics for which data were available were found to be concentrated in the Migrant Zone in relatively greater numbers than the non-migrants with the same characteristics. Data were available for the standard census categories for migrants for the following characteristics: age, sex, color, work-status, occupation, nativity and citizenship, and years of school completed (for persons aged 25-34). Sex and migrant type (urban, rural, foreign) were held constant in considering the concentration by social characteristics. The nature of the comparison may be illustrated by the fact that the proportion of all migrant rural male professional workers located in the Migrant Zone is greater than the corresponding proportion for all male non-migrants. Similar comparisons were made for each occupational category, for each sex, for each migrant type. Further specific comparisons of the same type were made for each category of each characteristic. Since sex and type of migrant were held constant in these comparisons, the concentrations cannot be attributed to variations in these factors. The degree of concentration varies considerably as between migrants with different social characteristics, but this point is not at issue here. The important fact is that migrants of every social characteristic for which data were available were concentrated in the Migrant Zone to a greater degree than comparable non-migrant groups.

Although it was impossible to hold constant race and economic status in all of these comparisons, it is fairly clear that the concentrations within the Migrant Zone cannot be attributed to either of these factors. Disproportionate numbers of both Negro and white migrants are concentrated within the Migrant Zone. For either racial group there was a greater concentration of

migrants of each age group in the Migrant Zone than of corresponding non-migrant groups. There is little likelihood that the economic factor explains the concentration in the Migrant Zone, since migrants of every work status and occupational grouping are concentrated in the Migrant Zone in greater numbers than corresponding non-migrant groups. Further, the areas in the Migrant Zone range in average rental from considerably below to considerably above the city average.

The evidence appears to indicate that migrants of every type, from every region, and with every kind of social characteristic for which data are available tended to concentrate within a distinctive group of areas, designated as a Migrant Zone. Since the concentration within the Migrant Zone appears to apply to every kind and type of migrant, there is evidence that migrant status, itself, or some factor associated with it, characterizing all types and kinds of migrants, must attract them to the Migrant Zone. Insofar as migrant status is an index of mobility as previously defined, the hypothesis may be advanced that the selective factor is mobility.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the migrants from the Suburban regions, who were found to be less concentrated in the Migrant Zone than other migrants, are also the migrant groups presumably least mobile in the sense that their movement to Chicago may be expected on the average to involve least dislocation. Insofar as the Suburban region is functionally an integral part of Chicago many of the institutional associations and personal relationships of the Suburban migrants will be unchanged by their movement into the city.

On the other hand, if there is a tendency for populations characterized by mobility to settle in the Migrant Zone, then among the non-migrant population of Chicago, also, those groups which are most mobile should be concentrated in the Migrant Zone. There is some evidence along this line, if persons moving within the city between 1935 and 1940 are considered on the average to be more mobile than the non-migrants whose

place of residence within Chicago remained unchanged. Forty-two and one-tenth per cent of the intra-city migrants were located in the Migrant Zone as compared with 26.5 per cent of the other non-migrants and 61.6 per cent of the migrants to Chicago. Thus, it appears that among the migrants to the city those groups which are presumably least mobile—that is the migrants from the Suburban Regions—are least concentrated in the Migrant Zone, while among the non-migrants those groups presumably most mobile—that is persons moving within Chicago—are most concentrated in the Migrant Zone.

Up to this point, evidence has been presented to indicate that in 1940 there existed in Chicago a Migrant Zone in which were concentrated disproportionate numbers of migrants of each type, source of origin, and social characteristics for which data are available. Some further evidence has been presented to develop the hypothesis that the selective factor involved in this concentration is mobility.

The second contribution of this report is a description of the location and other characteristics of the areas in the Migrant Zone.

In Chicago, the Migrant Zone is T-shaped with the cross-point at the Loop, the head of the T running through the Loop along the Lake Front for a considerable distance both North and South, reaching to the city limit on the North and to 79th street on the South. The shaft of the T runs directly westward from the Loop to about Western Avenue.

These lines along which the Migrant Zone is oriented are precisely the lines of the principal rapid transportation routes in Chicago. Burgess, Mowrer, and other students of the ecology of Chicago have recognized these lines as the principal lines of rapid transit. The Chicago Plan Commission has indicated that "in 11 of the 75 community areas of Chicago, the availability of fast transportation to the Downtown area has attracted a large population that wants the advantage of easy access to places of employment." All 11 of these areas are included in the Migrant Zone. It is apparently not inaccu-

rate to characterize the Migrant Zone as located along the principal fast transportation lines in Chicago.

Two further aspects of the location of the Migrant Zone are significant in terms of previous descriptions of the distributions of mobile populations. First, the Migrant Zone extends far beyond the central disorganized slum areas known as the port of entry for foreign migrants. It extends into such middle class Chicago areas as Hyde Park and South Shore. There is no evidence of a gradient pattern such that the proportion of migrants decreases with distance from the center of the city.

Secondly, there is no positive relationship between the distribution of the recent internal migrants and of the foreign-born population of Chicago. On the contrary the relationship is negative. For the 75 community areas of Chicago the co-efficient of rank correlation between the percentage of the population who were foreign-born and the proportion who were migrants was  $-.43 (\pm .12)$ . It is interesting to note that even those recent migrants who came from foreign countries did not settle in areas where the resident foreign-born were concentrated. For the 24 residential areas of Chicago the correlation between the percentage of foreign migrants (1935-1940) and the percentage of foreign-born persons in the population was not significantly different from zero.

Thus, the investigation of the location of the Migrant Zone has indicated that it follows the principal rapid transit lines, that it does not correspond with the settlement pattern of the foreign-born and that it does not follow the typical gradient pattern.

The Migrant Zone is also characterized by what may be designated as "typically urban" living arrangements. These are the types of living arrangements which are much more prevalent in urban than rural areas and in terms of which students of the city characterize some of the distinctive aspects of urban life. These are the living arrangements which generally involve a maximum of freedom from family or neighborhood social controls and a minimum of

responsibility tying the individual to his home. The types of living arrangements which are generally accepted as meeting these specifications are disproportionately numerous in the Migrant Zone.

Thus, as compared with the city as a whole, there are among the dwelling units of the Migrant Zone a high proportion of apartments in multiple dwelling units, of units rented furnished, of one- or two-room units, of units with roomers, and of vacant dwelling units. Dwelling units with one or two rooms and dwelling units rented furnished are relatively more than five times as numerous inside than outside the Migrant Zone. On the other hand, the Migrant Zone has relatively few of the detached single family homes or the owner occupied units which characterize stable neighborhoods. The relatively high vacancy rate characterizing the Migrant Zone is typical of urban living arrangements with a high rate of turnover.

One of the shortcomings of the method by which the existence and location of the Migrant Zone has been established has been the use of relatively large areas for definition of the Zone. It might have been desirable to have had smaller and more homogeneous areas. The use of the larger areas was dictated by the fact that the data on region of origin, type, and social characteristics of the migrants were available only in terms of these areas.

However, data are available for the *gross numbers* of migrants in each of the 75 local community areas into which Chicago is divided in many Chicago studies. In general the location and description of the Migrant Zone established on the basis of the 24 residential areas is confirmed by the data for the 75 areas. The few exceptional areas con-

tradicting this generalization are also exceptional in the deviation of their characteristics from the characteristics of the Migrant or the Non-Migrant Zone, as the case may be, with respect to availability of urban living accommodations or the transportation facilities for rapid access to the Loop. The exceptions are consistent with the idea that only areas with good transportation facilities and urban living arrangements are attractive to migrants.

The findings about the existence and nature of the Migrant Zone have several suggestive implications. In the first place, since the settlement pattern of the recent migrants to Chicago has been found to differ sharply from that of the foreign migrants of a previous period, some changes may also be expected in the ecological organization of the city which is generally related historically to the settlement pattern of successive waves of foreign migrants.

Secondly, the fact that the migrants are not distributed in the expected typical gradient fashion raises several questions about the relationship between mobility and social disorganization, since indices of social disorganization have characteristically followed such a gradient pattern in Chicago. First, there is the possibility that the departure from the gradient pattern in recent migration presages a similar change in distribution of indices of social disorganization. A second possibility is that the type of migration which these data represent is not associated with mobility. Finally, there is the possibility that not all types of mobility are associated with social disorganization. These possibilities are partially explored in another part of the author's investigation of the distribution of migrants in Chicago.

## DEVELOPING DEMOSCOPES FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH\*

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THE AIM of this paper is to forecast four new or further applications of demoscopes† in basic social research of the future. By a demoscope is meant *any scientific instrument* for surveying or polling samples of people. By basic social research, pure scientific research is meant which is not primarily concerned with solving immediate problems nor immediate guiding of administrative decisions but which seeks social laws. Basic social research here means the search to generalize ever more widely the currently limited uniformities that have been measured in interhuman behavior and in their attendant conditions. Such generalizations give man in the long run more basic ability to predict and control human relations.

The argument, in this paper, for developing demoscopes as promising instruments for observing social facts, involves the usual

assumptions of scientists. More exactly, it assumes that:

- (a) Social progress depends in part on social research;
- (b) Social research depends in part on observing facts;
- (c) Observing facts depends in part on better instruments.

With these definitions and assumptions about demoscopes made explicit, their development will be forecast.

### PAN-SAMPLING

In forecasting further applications of demoscopes, consider first extending the topics surveyed to all the social sciences in what may be called "pan-sampling." A pan-sample is a sample of case studies, or study of a sample of persons each of whom is observed in hundreds or even thousands of ways instead of the dozen or so ways represented in the questions of the usual poll or survey. In pan-sampling, a representative panel of persons must be recruited to be interviewed and tested, each for several hundred hours (which may be distributed in time as in one hour sessions weekly for several years). At each interview the interviewees will be questioned and tested and observed in new ways—towards cumulating eventually every measurable index known to any social science on one and the same set of persons. A pan-sample thus aims to become a sample of *all* characteristics of the persons in the sample. The essence of the pan-sample is the large number of variables or characteristics measured as well as their being measured on the same persons. The label "pan" is chosen to denote both all measurements possible on people and on one panel.

Pan-sampling aims to accumulate the most thorough and complete measuring of human beings and their relations that is currently possible. Thus psychologists

\* Manuscript received January 16, 1948.

† A "demoscope" is a social fact-finding instrument which denotes much more than the term "survey" since a demoscope includes the organization of personnel who plan, execute, and report a survey as well as the physical equipment of office, tabulating machinery, schedule cards, communicating and transportation and all other equipment. A demoscope means the complete instrument for scientific observing of a human population including its component functioning of survey planning, questionnaire construction and pretesting, sample selecting, interviewing, recruiting, training and supervising of interviewers, editing, tabulating, computing, reporting, and publishing reports. A demoscope may observe people's opinions, or their information, or their behavior or their condition in any respect and is thus more inclusive than a "poll" which usually observes opinions. It is less inclusive than a "survey" as it means only "social survey" and not geologic surveys or other types of surveys. "Surveys" further imply only the *action* of observing people and not all the other parts of the instrument defined as a "demoscope." The four essentials of any demoscope are that it be (1) a scientific instrument; (2) for observing facts; (3) about a representative sample; (4) of a specified human population.



would contribute intelligence and personality tests, tests of skills and information, personal history questionnaires, as well as a vast array of opinionnaires. Economists would explore buying, selling, and working habits, desires, and values of the panel on all economic matters which can be determined by individuals, whether key individuals or individuals representative of the masses. Political scientists would explore all voting and other political behavior and attitudes of every conceivable kind towards government in every department and area from municipality to United Nations. Ministers would explore religious affiliations and aspirations of the panel. Educators would measure attitudes, knowledge and skills resulting from schooling. Medical specialists would explore physiological functioning from psychiatric aspects to glandular and muscular and other organic functioning of human beings. Sociologists would inquire extensively and intensively into family and sex matters, recreational attitudes and behavior, and into the other institutions such as welfare work, art, science, communication. Anthropologists, both physical and cultural, would determine the thousands of physical and residual cultural traits not covered by the other social scientists. In short, all the human and social sciences would have to cooperate in observing, with planned priorities, everything they currently know how to observe on that one panel of persons.

Consider the advantages of pan-sampling which would result in proportion as the number of variables observed on any one population grows larger from its present meager number towards the eventual vast number needed to comprehend all human traits and relations.

For the first time in the history of social science pan-sampling would make exactly known all the conditions under which any generalization held good. Heretofore, from proverbs to the best current empirical laws, the specific conditions for their holding and for their being applied in the future are only vaguely and incompletely known. Pan-sampling, in measuring all concurrent con-

ditions, would determine the conditions under which everyone of the myriad variables varied. The conditions for each variable are simply all the other variables that show correlation indices with it. Thus knowledge in the social sciences would accumulate acceleratingly. For every new variable each week that is added to the growing set of  $n$  previously observed variables adds  $2n-1$  new correlations between variables and so  $2n-1$  additional sources of prediction and control of every one of the  $n$  prior variables. Thus every study on the pan-sample could build on, and also build up, all previous studies. This is a desirable state of affairs which has been sadly lacking in the social sciences, hitherto. The thousands of published social studies and the several social sciences have been like separate bricks, rarely built together into a coherent structure. This cumulating of knowledge provided by pan-sampling would make the pan-sampling research center the mecca for social scientists and develop these sciences in a long leap forward.

This would consequently tend to unify the social sciences. Their separate interests would become best developed by close cooperation in collecting data and correlating them. Social science would begin to see and interpret society as a whole instead of the present myriad facets—usually of unknown relationship to each other. Thus the intercorrelations ( $n^2-n$  in number) of every variable with every other one would become determinable. From these the multiple correlation of each variable with the set of all the other variables, each optimally weighted, becomes determinate. From this, the multiple regression equations can estimate (or predict if applied to the future) the values of any of the variables observed. The accuracy of these predictions may be expected to become increasingly high—well over 90% wherever multiple correlations of .95 or higher are built up by pan-sampling. Studies such as Thorndike's on the goodness of American cities intercorrelating 300 variables demonstrate that multiple correlations around .95 are possible. With social prediction raised to such a high level the most

manipulatable variables can be manipulated and so increase social control—man's control of human society.

Nor is this increase of social prediction (and consequent control) a speculation or even a probability. It is a certainty. For it has been mathematically proved that multiple correlation increases with (a) the diversity, and (b) the relevance of the variables that are observed.

Thus when the United States set out to get 60,000 airmen and eventually sampled the aptitude of more than a million men for this purpose, those aptitude tests which predicted ability as pilot, bombardier, etc., were built up by multiple correlation technics. Many diverse test items were found, each correlating with an index of the airman's ability in actual flying. The most relevant items were thus picked. But the more diverse these items were, the better. For differing items have less overlap in that each predicts something about the airman's ability that is not measured by other items. Hence their predictive contributions add up to a higher index of prediction. This enabled the authorities to control the selection of candidates so as to build an airforce efficiently.

Thus as pan-sampling increases the diversity of variables (*i.e.* the number of variables with low intercorrelations) and their relevance (*i.e.* finds some variables correlating high with the criterion variable at issue) the prediction of that criterion variable must increase as measured by the multiple correlation formula. The only unsettled question is as to the *amount* of increase in predictability of social phenomena. How nearly will the multiple correlations from pan-sampling approach unity? (Correlations of unity mean perfect predictability.) Only trial in research, and better research<sup>1</sup> will answer this question.

Pan-sampling has many difficulties. But technics for coping with these difficulties are

<sup>1</sup> Better research involves research which is guided by hypotheses to be tested. Such purposeful research will keep pan-sampling from becoming a mere mechanical amassing of thousands of frequency distributions and intercorrelation coefficients.

becoming known and lack of funds has chiefly prevented overcoming them. Thus a pan-sample will shrink in size through deaths, migration, disinterest among interviewers, incomplete records, and other causes. These require (a) starting with a sample large enough to stand such losses; (b) preventive steps to reduce such wastage; and (c) constant renewal of the sample with new interviewees interviewed on the content of all previous surveys with all computations involving these additions appropriately corrected or duplicated. Again, even though the panel is constant in composition, it will change in age; it may become bored and uncooperative; or practiced and unduly skilled or articulate; or influenced by pressure groups with vested interests; or economically unrepresentative under changed conditions of a depression or war. All these dimensions are measurable with research and hence such errors in pan-sampling can be corrected.

The one essential condition, not met at present, is that the demoscope which is developing a pan-sample shall have ample financial support. This means annual funds of the order of a million dollars or so—not a few thousand dollars of current subsidies for research on polling. Pan-sampling will require funds comparable to building one battleship, or a dozen bombers or a one tenth of one per cent share of the atom bomb.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Lack of funds has only recently become the chief deterrent of pan-sampling. Until recently adequate theory was also lacking. But in recent years the necessary undergirding of theory has been built up, namely:

For *comprehensive* dealing with many variables, symbolic logicians have developed the calculus of classes and of relations and statisticians have developed the statistics of attributes and matrix algebra.

For *precise and reliable* dealing with each variable the theory of measurement and the theory of sampling have been greatly developed. The theory of measurement begins with calling any observable an "attribute" (*i.e.* an all-or-none variable) and assigning it values of 1 or 0 for its presence or absence in any situation studied; then distinguishing ordinal degrees of "some, more and most" of the attribute; then in standardizing a *cardinal* unit of it and counting the number of such units in the

Although pan-sampling is expensive, its cost can be reduced by various devices, administrative or technical. One administrative device, for example, would be to charge for the use of the pan-sample's panel. Every research project, since it intercorrelates its findings with the findings of previous surveys, should pay a share of their cost. For another example, a technical device reducing the cost of pan-sampling is an electronic scanner. This is a statistical tabulating and computing machine which may displace the present punched cards and contact brushes as completely as these displaced hand tabulating. The scanner uses 1,000 magnetizable points on a meter of wire (or alternatively 1,000 opaque millimeter spots on a frame of movie film) to record the data of up to 1,000 items on each person. With 100 such meters of wire representing 100 persons stretched on a scanning table simultaneously, frictionless "electric eyes" could read and electrically record almost instantaneously the per cent of persons having each of the 1,000 items of data. Similarly, correlation coefficients could be instantly scanned and photographically recorded. This swift intercorrelating of hundreds or thousands of human variables has been hitherto mechanically prohibitive in time and cost but electronics should make it possible. By this, millions of items per minute can be handled by frictionless harnessing of either electrons or radiant energy.

This electronic scanner, which would facilitate a demoscope in developing pan-sampling, needs large funds for its develop-

situation. By this theory of measurement anything observable by man can be quantitatively measured (with varying degree of precision and reliability, of course).

The theory of sampling develops the laws of adequate size and of representativeness and indices of sampling error, all of which have enabled inferences, with specified degrees of reliability, to be made from samples small enough to be practical.

For relevant dealing with many variables, multiple correlation and factor theory have developed powerful tools for analyzing and synthesizing systems of variables and for measuring the approach of these systems to becoming closed systems within which phenomena are perfectly predictable.

At present, the author has developed a statistician's specifications for the scanner, but electronic engineers have still to work out these or better devices.

A practical beginning<sup>3</sup> of pan-sampling would be to build up, through an ample ten-year grant, an existing polling agency in cooperation with the social science faculty of a university in some one State. Only a large university could supply the many specialists in measurement in every human and social science. Only a polling agency limited to one State could combine a sample that is representative of a whole population and reliably adequate in size (of the order of 1,000 persons or more) with accessibility by auto within one day's working radius such as to keep interviewing costs down.

Trucks equipped as mobile laboratories taking the diverse technician interviewers or testers to the interviewees would be required and travel cost for these on a national scale would make the budget ten times or so greater than required for a pan-sample in one State.

A representative State in the United States would require for thorough scientific purposes a sample of some 2,000 persons—calculating the size of sample as the square root of the population (or perhaps three million or so) and allowing for losses. To keep these 2,000 persons continually co-operating in weekly interviews for years will require elaborate technics to build up their interest. It may prove necessary to pay them and so command their services, as laboratory material, by employment. Thus individual contracts could be made for 100 hours of testing a year, payable only on completing it all. This may require \$100 per interviewee, or \$200,000 a year for the panel of 2,000 interviewees. Such sums for human research are not large compared to sums currently spent on research in agriculture, chemical plastics, or electronics.

<sup>3</sup> State polling agencies have been started in Iowa, Texas, Minnesota, California, and Washington and centers for basic social research developing towards pan-sampling in comprehensiveness have been started in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Seattle, Washington, for example.

The large scope of pan-sampling would require sponsors with large resources. For an average of a million dollars a year for ten years might be required. This means enlisting the support of large scale agencies such as the Social Science Research Council could coordinate or the new federally financed National Science Foundation, were it to include the Social Sciences eventually. The Army in its post-war research proposals for a basic inventory and study of "human factors in total war" might adopt the pan-sample technic. Or the Navy's office of Scientific Research and Development might finance it. Perhaps the surest way of adequate financing free of any bureaucratic limitations on free scientific enquiry would be for a group of large industrial corporations to pool appropriations for social research matching their past or present appropriations for physical research. Thus the Standard Oil of New Jersey with its more than 100,000 employees, its 160,000 stockholders, and millions of customers is finding its human relations of avoiding strikes and building up goodwill among consumers and suppliers (especially in foreign lands where its oil wells are located) fully as important to its profits as physical relations of the products of oil cracking plants. Basic research to improve these human relations of big business is vital to their long run prosperity and independence. Funds invested in a research Institute of Human Relations to pan-sample a population should yield rich eventual returns in increased predictability and control of collective human behavior.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL SAMPLING

Pan-sampling is one major line of development of demoscopes in the future. Organization sampling is another major line of further development. Pan-sampling extends the number of observables; organization sampling intensively observes the functioning of a human organization. It measures the complex, interhuman relations within an organization such as a government or a large corporation as far as these are determinable by questioning, or observing, sample sets of persons. It goes beyond cur-

rent surveys in that it explores the intangible but all important interrelations of persons to each other such as interrelate workers and foremen, executives and office workers, or the organization's representatives and the public. This is the newly developed field of sociometry—the measurement of interperson *relations* in any group, and the interrelations of groups in a larger "grouping." Surveys of interperson relations have used tests such as Moreno's for the attitudes of attraction-repulsion between persons in specific situations as companions for eating together, for working together, for rooming together, etc. Another recent though unvalidated type of measurement of interperson relations is Chapple's "Interaction Chronograph" which yields five indices which correlate with, and so predict, different leadership abilities such as of executives, foremen and salesmen. The chronograph plots the seconds of silence and of talking, or other response, for each of two persons during a standardized half hour interview and adds up these time intervals to get indices indicating dominant or submissive personality traits, degree of social initiative, speed, persistence and adaptability in interacting. Other types of tests, and indices recording them objectively and quantitatively, are being developed in sociometry towards measuring inter-personal relations—which is the stuff of which every group and every human organization is built.

But organic sampling goes beyond sociometric observing of interperson relations in that it observes the further relations between a *person and a group*. These person-group relations may become very numerous and complex, according as they vary:

- (a) In *time* from one period to another
- (b) In *space* from one region to another
- (c) In population composition:
  - (1) as to *overlap*; from groups with no members in common up to groups with all members in common.
  - (2) as to *hierarchy*; from one level of similarly interacting persons (as in a conversation "grouplet") to many levels (as in any large industrial or-



ganization subclassified into departments which are subclassified into sections and so on into hierarchy, or "grouping" of subgroups).

- (d) In the *indices* which record the functioning and relations in all the possible kinds of human groups.

The person-group relations can be readily studied by known technics when they vary in time, space, or in population composition, but technics are little developed as yet for studying them through the varying indices which indicate and record the many differing kinds of person-group relations. Some of these indices which symbolize and record person-group relations are things, or activities, such as a building which symbolizes the group using it, or a flag which symbolizes a national group, or a name which symbolizes any formal group, or one's work which symbolizes the group of one's co-workers. Some other of these indices which symbolize person-group relations are the observed *relations between people and officials* (who may be defined as persons formally representing a group in some way). These relations to officials will be discussed a little further here to give a clearer picture of this one sub-type of little explored person-group relation.

An office (*i.e.* formal role) is the behavior expected of some class of interacting person such as a policeman or any government official, a father in a family group, a specialist in some internally differentiated group, or a formal leader in any group whatever. Every person in an industrial organization has at least one formal role, or office, that is, some behavior that is expected of him as a worker, a foreman, a clerk, an executive or whatever may be his type of formally expected interacting with other persons.

Now it is an obvious and yet basic fact that persons may behave differently as an official and in non-official capacities and again may have one attitude towards an office and another towards its incumbent. Thus in every pair of persons, A and B, where B is also an official, who in this role may be called C, there are three possible sets of interperson relations. First, there are

the usual A to B and B to A relations, between two persons as currently studied in Sociometry. Second, there are the further relations of A to C and C to A, the relations between the official and another person. Third, there are the relations (studied in psychoanalysis especially) of B to C and C to B, *i.e.*, the relations within a person between himself as an official and as a non-official. Thus he may have attitudes of pride, ambition, indifference, timidity, etc., towards his role or office; and as an official he may consider himself an excellent, or inferior, or peculiar, or other kind of incumbent of that office, etc. Now these three sets of relations among A, B, and C—among two persons and one-of-them-as-an-official-representing-a-group—are the essence of person-group relations and so of the relations within any human organization. Research is needed to measure these relations separately in order that from their combination we can predict and control increasingly all the human relations within an organization.

A recent theory for dealing with organized human groups in all their possible complexity has been developed by V. Cervinka with the aid of matrices and matrix products. His "dimensional theory of groups" assumes two types of elements, namely people and "criteria" which are symbols representing the group in any way. His criteria may include other members of the group, officials, activities, things, places, names, in short anything whatever that symbolizes something about the group to its members and is therefore group-forming in some respect.

Each given observed criterion, recorded as an index, defines a group as those persons having some degree of attachment greater than zero to that criterion. The degree of attachment is measured by a highly generalized attitude scale which Cervinka has invented. All the persons when recorded as row headings and all the criteria when recorded as column headings and their interrelating attachments when recorded as cell entries form a comprehensive matrix. The indices which summarize this matrix can measure the solidarity of the group, *i.e.* its

ability to endure and resist shock, disruption or decay. By substituting different indices, other than indices of attachments in the cells which interrelate the people and their group-forming criteria, any dimensions of a group other than its solidarity can be measured.

Organization sampling means, then, to sample not only the person-person relations that hold in any grouplet but also the person-person relations, which include the triple set of relations among officials and persons. Next, these person-official relations will pyramid whenever person A is an official and person B is a different official, thus introducing into that pair of persons *two triple* sets of relations. Then further, persons may have more than one office as in being both secretary and treasurer of a society, or a foreman and trainer in a shop, or a worker and sole expert in a certain operation. When multiple offices and less formal roles in one person are combined with many persons in an organization the inter-human relations become enormously many and complex. This is partly why organization research has accomplished so little to date—but recently theory and technics such as those of matrix algebra have been developed for handling this complexity.

Thus organization sampling will use as one technic the matrices of matrix algebra, a branch of mathematics much needed in statistical research. A matrix is a table arranging items in rows and columns. "A first degree" matrix consists of one row, listing something for every person in the sample. This is ordinary sample surveying, or polling, today. More penetrating social surveying requires a second degree matrix which lists each interviewee as heading a row and again as heading a column and enters in the cell where the row of person A crosses the column of person B the observed interrelation of A to B. But organization surveying goes still further in requiring a third degree matrix of rows, columns and vertical arrays. The vertical arrays may represent the officials or person-in-formal-roles representing the group in some specialized or partial way. Thus the entire second degree matrix is

repeated once for each official. If N is the number of officials in a group of persons, P in number, then the number of interrelations is the product of  $P \times P \times N$ . Thus organization sampling must involve at least three factors, arranged in a third degree or solid matrix, namely (1) a set of persons (2) interrelated with each other, and (3) with officials. The operational test of organization sampling is that it requires such a third degree matrix to record all the relations that have been observed by appropriately representative sampling in the organization. Obviously such organization sampling has never been systematically done or even attempted. But it must be developed by research if the intricacies of human organization are to be so scientifically observed as to yield generalizations and laws of interhuman relations which in turn will enable us increasingly to predict and control our highly organized society.

#### WORLD SAMPLING

In addition to pan-sampling and organization sampling, a third line of further development of demoscopes is world sampling. World sampling means simply the attempt to sample representatively all the people currently living anywhere on the earth. It is sampling humanity. Its findings could generalize about human beings unrestricted to one region and its culture as all surveys have been restricted hitherto. World sampling would thus enable the social sciences to transcend space and local culture. It would tell us what is currently true for all people and show what further is different for peoples in different regions. Social generalizations would outgrow any existing provincialism and tend to become universal social laws.

World sampling is not a mere dream for the distant future but is being approached today. Thus the number of people interviewed in the current surveys in one month has already become much greater than needed for a world sample.<sup>4</sup> But their distri-

<sup>4</sup> Using the rule-of-thumb that a sample should be about the square root of the population sampled,

bution is geographically unrepresentative at present since these surveys are all in some thirty of the more developed nations which include less than half the people of the world.

Towards geographically representative world sampling a world association of sampling surveyors is being formed. The international conference of this association in Williamstown in September, 1947, adopted its provisional constitution as a "World Congress." Its functions may include progressively organizing indigenous surveying agencies in countries now lacking them, and coordinating national agencies in an international network which will cover all the countries which permit or can afford such agencies. Most agencies are interested in participating in an international network which could service the United Nations agencies, especially UNESCO. The problem is mostly one of financing a network and of promoting agencies in unsurveyed areas and setting up and enforcing minimum standards of scientific surveying.

World sampling has practical uses, as well as theoretical use in universalizing the data of the Social Sciences. For the world today wants security from another world war. World surveys could serve as a "barometer of international security."<sup>5</sup> They could gauge each month the rise or fall of various international tensions whose breaking point is war. They would warn of increasing tension with events and reflect and lessening of tensions when remedial steps were taken. Along this line, a study of "tensions affecting international understanding" has been started by UNESCO in the form of a comprehensive survey of research projects needed. Several hundred psychologists and

social scientists of all countries have been invited to cooperate on this wide ranging collection of research projects on international tensions. For all these researches on tension the one essential tool is an international demoscope. And this demoscope must be developed towards world sampling if it is to warn of world tensions.

There are many other practical ways in which demoscopes, by sampling the world's population, can service the United Nations and make a scientific contribution towards the goal of One World.<sup>6</sup> Every U.N. agency and commission requires information in its field about the people of the world and much of these facts can be gathered by the sampling of a world demoscope. Thus the Public Information Department and the Statistical Department of U.N.'s Secretariat will need a world demoscope either in their own organization or available for contractual surveying. The world association of public opinion agencies noted above aims to fill this need in contracting to survey as wanted by U.N.

Finally, world sampling has broader implications. In proportion as world polls are achieved the voice of the people of the world will be accurately amplified and directly heard in the United Nations. World polling is thus a contribution from the social sciences for implementing democracy on the new world scale. It builds a bit more of world government which is by and for the people of the world.

#### TIME SAMPLING

Much of the pan-sampling, organo-sampling, and geo-sampling described above must be re-sampled in time. Resurveys at

gives 40,000 interviewees, as the square root of the world's adult population of some 1,600,000,000. The surveying agencies of all the various countries are estimated to interview more than 100,000 people every month.

<sup>5</sup>For fuller statement of this barometer proposal see: Dodd, S. C., "A Barometer of International Security," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Summer, 1945. For discussion of world surveys more generally see: Dodd, S. C., "Towards World Surveying," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Winter, 1947.

<sup>6</sup>The current diverging of Russia and the Western nations is expected to limit *joint* surveys and publicity about surveys, but not the actual use of demoscopes. Russia is reported to be using sampling surveys for her internal purposes. Any scientific technic will be used in the long run by any regime simply because the scientific method assures that the technic works. International surveys in non-controversial realms may be expected to develop after isolated national development and then become gradually extended as much as the various governing regimes permit.

regular periods are essential to observe current change, to analyze past causes, and to forecast future trends. Dynamic phenomena—the living of people—require more than one survey on one date. A time series must be observed thoroughly for predictions of the near future. Analysis of the correlations of these time series is our best hope for learning more of their causation. Social laws of causation can only be induced from careful checking and rechecking of sequences and correlated celerations under varying conditions, as observed by periodic resampling. Therefore demoscopes with long term programs are needed; and for this, financial support must be assured for a decade or more ahead. Demoscopes of all kinds, from public opinion institutes to market research agencies, from radio listener or magazine readership to social surveys of the people's diet, health or recreation habits must increasingly organize themselves so as to routinely repeat their inquiries and cumulate periodic statistics just as the census does. In fact, census bureau and sampling surveying agencies of governments may be expected to merge increasingly in the future.

Time sampling means more, however, than simply repeating surveys in consecutive periods. Time sampling may also mean surveying only a sample of the sub-periods within an overall period. This means economizing effort by selecting representative periods such as the activity of five minutes in each hour of a day, or of one day in each month, or of a typical month in the year.

Time sampling applies theory to a time universe. It seeks to estimate the amount of some dynamic phenomenon in a whole period by observing it in only a part of the period. Provided the part represents the whole well, the part may be very small and thus make the observing cheaper and quicker. Thus, for one example, the usual formulas for standard errors of sampling cannot be applied to time samples since observations in time periods are not usually independent of each other as assumed in random sampling. The principles of random sampling must be modified in time sampling

due to the fact that the values of indices from consecutive periods are apt to be correlated.

Resampling in time, if at regular intervals, measures social forces. For differences between dates can measure velocity and celeration of change—acceleration if the rate of change is speeding up, deceleration if the rate of change is slowing down. Then the product of the amount of celeration and the population celerated can define an *effective social force*.<sup>7</sup> Thus defined, social forces become measurable and demoscopes can measure political forces, economic forces, educational forces, health forces, religious forces and any other type of social force. Each force is expressed in units of the observed index of change. For comparing them, forces must be converted into comparable units, such as percentages, standard deviations, money, time, or simply all-or-none attributes. Social forces thus become determinate with an accuracy proportional to the accuracy with which that type of social change is observable. (See our theory of measurement above for all-or-none, ordinal, or cardinal degrees of accuracy.) This theory of social forces then goes on to define operationally a causative social force, or simply "a cause" as any antecedent index which under the specified conditions of observation correlates with the effective force. The extent to which antecedent events, A, are causes of consequent events, B, becomes determinable increasingly with research.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> If  $\Delta I$  denotes the difference in some index observed on one date and reobserved on another date and T denotes the time interval, then  $\Delta I/T = V$  = the velocity, or time rate, of change. A difference between two velocities,  $\Delta V$ , divided by the time interval defines the celeration,  $\Delta V/T = C$  (or  $C = \Delta I/T^2$ ). Multiplying this by the celerated population, P, defines an effective social force as  $F = CP$ . This is expressed in units of the index of social change per period per period for the whole population.

<sup>8</sup> For greater accuracy such "causes" are better called "precorrelates." For the semi-philosophical word "cause" has conflicting or vague meanings, while the theory of statistical correlation permits rigorous reasoning and prediction via the regression



But here again more funds for social research are needed if the complex conditions for a given social force to operate are to be disentangled—as by means of pan-sampling. Analysis of social causes in time sampling thus depends on pan-sampling. And further, if prediction of *organized universal human behavior* is desired, then social researchers must also be financed for or-

ganization sampling and for world sampling.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Readers interested in systematic theory or methodology, may note that the four lines (or "dimensions") of development of demoscopes described in this paper are rigorous deductions from the author's dimensional theory in Sociology. (See "Dimensions of Society," Macmillan 1942 p 944, or the more inclusive volume, offset for critical revision, "Systematic Social Science," 1947 p 785). This methodological theory, which has been called the "S-system" of concepts, asserts that anything observable by human beings is classifiable into four "sectors," namely time (T), space (L), people (P), and indices of all residual characteristics (I). These are then subclassified in hierarchic levels as finely as needed. Thus, a second level of subclasses is based upon the thoroughness of observation which is measurable by the mathematical exponent, as follows:

equation,  $B = r_{AB} A$  (A and B being in standard deviation units). This theory of causation and of social forces is more fully and exactly developed in the author's "Dimensions of Society," (Macmillan, 1942, p. 944) and "Systematic Social Science," a textbook offset for critical development and obtainable from the Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle.

S-symbol (Exponent denotes degree of the matrix)	Meaning in general	Meaning as applied to demoscopes
S	any set of data, i.e. recorded observations	demoscopic data, data from a sample survey
I <sup>0</sup>	qualitative characteristics	different questions = "comprehensiveness" of content
I <sup>1</sup>	quantitative characteristics	intervals, or degrees, of an answer
I <sup>2</sup>	correlated characteristics	intercorrelation indices = <i>pan-sampling</i>
P <sup>0</sup>	a person, a case	an individual interviewee
P <sup>1</sup>	a plural, a class of persons	samples of (unrelated) interviewees
P <sup>2</sup>	a grouplet, a set of interacting persons	samples of person-person relations of interviewees
P <sup>3</sup>	a groupage, a set of persons, grouplets and groupings	samples of person-group relations, = <i>organization sampling</i>
L <sup>0</sup>	a spot, a point	the number of demoscopic centers
L <sup>1</sup>	a line, a length	the distance from centers to interviewees
L <sup>2</sup>	an area	the areas surveyed = <i>world sampling</i> at maximum
T <sup>0</sup>	an instant, a date	surveys at one date
T <sup>-1</sup>	a speed, i.e., divided by a period	speed of change on resurveying
T <sup>-2</sup>	a celeration, i.e., twice divided by time	celeration of change on resurveying = <i>time sampling of social forces</i>

The S-formula, of which every set of data from every survey whatever is a particular case, is  $S = T^i; L^j; P^k; I^l$  (where the semicolon denotes any mathematical or logical operator as +, -, ×, ÷, =, >, etc.). This is the "quantic S-formula," where the S-formula subclassifies data only as far as the second level and where the degree of the exponent (called a quantic in mathematics) is the basis for subclassifying each of the four sectors. The four forms of sampling described in this paper were deductively derived from this S-formula as its special case when: (a) the data, S, are limited to sample surveys, and (b) the exponents are higher than unity. The maximal exponents specify extremes as yet unattained in sample surveying. The dimensional symbols yielded the four types of sampling described in this paper as rigorous deductions from the S-formula—even if the deducer knows nothing about polling. This usefulness of dimensional analysis extends further in predicting future types of sampling surveys which are described by still higher exponents. But these are not even imagined as yet by most polling practitioners since our folk language has not developed words for communicating such subtle and intangible meanings about human relations.

# UNDERENUMERATION IN THE CENSUS AS INDICATED BY SELECTIVE SERVICE DATA\*

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IN A PAPER by Daniel O. Price in the *American Sociological Review*, February 1947, there is contained an analysis indicating that on the basis of Selective Service data there was underenumeration in the 1940 Census for the age group 21-35 amounting to about 3% for total males and 15% for negro males. The analysis was made on the basis of projecting the 1940 Census for the 6½ months to the date of the First Selective Service Registration (see Table 1 for details as to this registration).

Price made his analysis by States which, as he recognizes, has certain limitations be-

cause of differences in procedure in Census enumeration and Selective Service registration. For instance, for total males the District of Columbia showed 16% more registered than according to the projected Census which was, no doubt, in large part due to the fact that persons from nearby Maryland and Virginia registered in the District of Columbia during their working hours. At the same time Maryland and Virginia each had a little over 2% more registered than expected from the census count, but this excess was smaller than the average for the entire country. In general, most States showed a smaller "census" population than registrants by a margin of 2-5%. More than 10 States had fewer registrants than "census" population, the greatest deficiency being 4% for Wyoming.

In the comparison by States for negro males, only the 24 States with the largest negro populations were shown. For 8 such States, mostly northern urban ones, the negro registrants exceeded the negro "census" population by more than 20% and for the southern States the figures in general ranged between 10 and 15%, although being as low as 5% for Mississippi.

This paper has two purposes: first, to present further data on "census" population versus Selective Service registrants, bringing into consideration the important factor of age, and second, to consider whether the Price analysis and this one present conclusive indisputable evidence as to underenumeration in the Census.

The best source of data by age in regard to registrants is "Age in the Selective Service Process," Special Monograph No. 9, Selective Service System, 1946. There two very useful tabulations of age data are presented. The first is on pages 286-288 where Group 1, Group 3, and Group 4 registrants (see Table 1) are shown by year of birth on the basis of 1% sample studies inflated to the known universe. These three groups

TABLE 1. DATES AND AGES INCLUDED IN THE SEVERAL  
SELECTIVE SERVICE REGISTRATIONS OF  
WORLD WARS I AND II

Registration Group	Date of Registration	Ages Included*
World War I		
1	6/5/17	21-30
2	6/5/18 & 8/24/18	21
3	9/12/18	18-21, 32-45
World War II		
1	10/16/40	21-35
2	7/1/41	21
3	2/16/42	20-21, 37-44
4	4/27/42	45-64
5	6/30/42	18-20
6	Continuous after 6/30/42	18

\* Age last birthday at date of registration unless otherwise indicated. In some instances all those at the initial or final attained ages shown for a particular registration are not subject to registration because they have been subject to a previous registration, as for instance in World War II, Second Registration included only those who had attained age 21 after 6/5/17. This also explains the "gaps" shown, as for example in World War II for age 36 where by the time of the Third Registration all who were 36 had been in the First Registration.

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† This is a private writing and has no relation to the official duties of the author with the Social Security Administration.

include individuals born from 1878 to 1918 and, in addition, a fraction of those born in 1877 and 1919. Since the data are by year of birth, they may readily be combined after allowing for mortality for Group 1 up to April 1, 1942, according to the U. S. Total Males 1939-41 Life Table; all in the other two groups may for all practical intents and purposes be assumed to be alive on this date,

age 21 some time in 1940) there is a 15% deficit of registrants as against the "census" population; this is, no doubt, largely due to the fact that those who had enlisted are not included in the registrants. For this reason, any analysis of data such as those for years of birth after 1919 would produce non-significant and non-usable results. Correspondingly, for years of birth 1915-18 the

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF MALE POPULATION ACCORDING TO CENSUS AND SELECTIVE SERVICE REGISTRANTS BY AGE, AS OF APRIL 1, 1942, AGES 23 TO 65  
(Figures in thousands of persons)

Year of Birth	Age Attained in 1942	Registrants <sup>a</sup>	Census <sup>b</sup>	Excess of Registrants Over Census	
				Number	Per cent
1919 <sup>c</sup>	23	775	912	-137 <sup>d</sup>	-15.0 <sup>e</sup>
1915-18	24-27	4,521	4,504	17	.4
1910-14	28-32	5,660	5,420	240	4.4
1905-09	33-37	5,305	5,003	302	6.0
1900-04	38-42	4,900	4,702	198	4.2
1895-99	43-47	4,465	4,322	143	3.3
1890-94	48-52	4,255	4,109	146	3.6
1885-89	53-57	3,759	3,574	185	5.2
1880-84	58-62	2,974	2,852	122	4.3
1877-79 <sup>d</sup>	63-65	1,267	1,223	44	3.6
Total		37,881	36,621	1,260	3.4

<sup>a</sup> Group 1, 3, and 4 registrants, with Group 1 being projected by mortality to 4/1/42 (other two groups were registered within 2 months of this date). Those of unknown age pro-rated. For complete explanation of methodology and sources, see text.

<sup>b</sup> Data from 1940 Census by single years of age first reallocated by year of birth and then projected by mortality to 4/1/42. For complete explanation of methodology and sources, see text.

<sup>c</sup> Includes only births through October 16.

<sup>d</sup> Includes only births after April 26, 1877.

<sup>e</sup> Deficit.

which lies between the two registration dates.

The resulting data on registrants are shown in Table 2, along with the projected "census" population. Although the calculations were made on the basis of single years of age, in general they are combined into quinquennial groups so as to smooth out the accidental fluctuations arising. Such combinations were performed only after examining the single age data closely so as not to lump together any ages where there were significant differences.

In comparing the registrants with the "census" population, it will be observed that for those born in 1919 (who attained

number of registrants agreed almost exactly with "census" figures (and this was true for each of the four year-of-birth groups separately); again, no doubt, the result of the enlistees not being included among the registrants, although this factor is of less importance for those born in 1918 and earlier since registration was in 1940, more than a year before our entry into the war so that enlistees are of relatively little significance.

For the earlier year-of-birth groups, the registrants exceeded the "census" population by some 3-4% in most instances, with no definite trend by age. On the basis of these data, it would appear that under-

enumeration in the census when analyzed in relation to the Selective Service data is from 3-4% at all male adult ages.

The second source of pertinent age data in "Age in the Selective Service Process" is on pages 290-292 where estimated registrants aged 18-37 as of February 1, 1945, are presented, with a subdivision by race into negro and white (including "other" races). Unfortunately these data include registrants who died in the interval between registration and February 1, 1945, so that

this country had entered the war so that there were many enlistees from this group. The "census" figures are based on official population estimates by quinquennial age groups for July 1, 1944, and July 1, 1945; these were first interpolated to February 1, 1945, and then subdivided into single years of age by osculatory interpolation. The negro population was obtained from the estimates of the total nonwhite population by the relative ratios prevailing by age in the 1940 Census. Registrants exceeded the

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF MALE POPULATION ACCORDING TO CENSUS AND SELECTIVE SERVICE REGISTRANTS BY AGE AND RACE, AS OF FEBRUARY 1, 1945, AGES 26 TO 37  
(Figures in thousands of persons)

Age <sup>a</sup>	Registrants <sup>b</sup>			Census <sup>c</sup>			Per Cent Excess of Registrants Over Census		
	Total	White <sup>d</sup>	Negro	Total	White <sup>d</sup>	Negro	Total	White <sup>d</sup>	Negro
26	1,169	1,038	131	1,128	1,018	110	3.6	2.0	19.1
27	1,156	1,035	121	1,107	1,001	106	4.4	3.4	14.2
28	1,133	1,015	118	1,097	992	105	3.3	2.3	12.4
29	1,130	1,020	110	1,095	990	105	3.2	3.0	4.8
30	1,151	1,027	124	1,091	987	104	5.5	4.1	19.2
31	1,125	1,007	118	1,087	983	104	3.5	2.4	13.5
32	1,123	1,005	118	1,079	976	103	4.1	3.0	14.6
33	1,070	962	108	1,065	964	101	0.5	-0.2	6.9
34	1,094	974	120	1,047	950	97	4.5	2.5	23.7
35	1,069	961	108	1,030	936	94	3.8	2.7	14.9
36	1,057	958	99	1,012	922	90	4.4	3.9	10.0
37	1,060	955	105	996	908	88	6.4	5.2	19.3
Total	13,337	11,957	1,380	12,834	11,627	1,207	3.9	2.8	14.3

<sup>a</sup> Age last birthday.

<sup>b</sup> For source, see text.

<sup>c</sup> Population estimates by quinquennial age groups for July 1, 1944, and July 1, 1945, first interpolated to February 1, 1945, and then subdivided into single years of age. Negro population obtained from total non-white population by relative ratios in 1940 Census, and "white" population then obtained by subtraction.

<sup>d</sup> Includes "other" races (i.e. non-whites other than negroes).

on the whole they are overstated by about 1%. On the other hand, as before, there are not included enlistees except those relatively few who had been discharged from military service by that time and who thus had to register. Although the data are shown for ages 18-37, for purposes of analysis only ages 26-37 are considered in the following Table 3 since for under age 26 the data are non-significant because of the element of the enlistees being excluded and registration for most of those 18-25 was held after

"census" population by about 4% for all races combined, 3% for white males, and 14% for negro males, with no trend by age other than accidental fluctuations to be expected in single age data. On the basis of these data, it would thus appear that Price's results by race are corroborated, with again there being no definite age trend.

Next there may be considered the experience in regard to the World War I Selective Service registrants. Such data are obtained from the "Second Report of the Provost



TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF MALE POPULATION  
ACCORDING TO CENSUS AND SELECTIVE SERVICE  
REGISTRANTS\* BY AGE, WORLD WAR I  
(Figures in thousands of persons)

Age as of Regis- tration <sup>b</sup>	Regis- trants <sup>a</sup>	Census <sup>a</sup>	Excess of Registrants Over Census <sup>d</sup>	
			Number	Per cent
First Registration (June 5, 1917)				
21	1,018	919	99	11%
22	979	924	55	6
23	1,010	930	80	9
24	998	932	66	7
25	968	923	45	5
26	956	903	53	6
27	960	879	81	9
28	975	853	122	14
29	949	832	117	14
30	1,043	825	218	26
Total	9,856	8,920	936	10
Second and Third Registrations (June 5-September 12, 1918 <sup>e</sup> )				
18	940	913	27	3%
19	761	910	-149	-16
20	758	908	-150	-17
21 <sup>f</sup>	959	1,157	-198	-17
32 <sup>g</sup>	500	599	-99	-17
33	928	832	96	12
34	920	841	79	9
35	805	848	-43	-5
36-40	3,887	3,764	123	3
41-45	3,310	3,217	93	3
Total	13,768	13,989	-221	-2
All Three Registrations				
Total	23,624	22,909	715	3%
Adjusted Total <sup>h</sup>	25,348	22,909	2,439	11

\* Do not include those of unknown age (285,000) or estimated enlistments prior to registration (1,439,000). For source, see text.

<sup>b</sup> Age last birthday.

<sup>c</sup> Data from 1920 Census by quinquennial age groups subdivided into single years of age and projected back to the registration dates by mortality. For complete explanation of methodology and sources, see text.

<sup>d</sup> Minus sign denotes deficit.

<sup>e</sup> All ages registered on September 12, 1918, except for those age 21 who registered throughout the 3-month period. The end of the period is used as the single effective date.

<sup>f</sup> Includes persons attaining age 21 between June 6, 1917, and September 12, 1918. Population figure from Census adjusted to represent this roughly 1½-year group.

Marshal General to the Secretary of War on the Operations of the Selective Service System to December 20, 1918," page 183. A considerable analysis of the registrants relative to the total population is made in this volume, but the population estimates themselves are somewhat uncertain because of the vast amount of immigration that had occurred between the 1910 Census and the outbreak of the war. Using the 1920 Census projected backward by mortality will give a somewhat better base, although this procedure possesses the limitation of disregarding the rather sizable immigration after the war and before the 1920 Census and also the high war and influenza mortality. These two factors, however, are counterbalancing, and for the purpose of this rough analysis no refinements seem justified.

Because the World War I data are shown by age as of each of the three registrations (see Table 1), certain adjustments had to be made in the estimated census data when projected backward, and the method of making these adjustments is shown in the footnotes of Table 4. As was the case with the World War II data, the registrants did not include the enlistees, although for the grand total it is possible to make such an adjustment. Moreover, this factor is of considerable importance especially for the Second and Third Registrations which were held about 1½ years after the war began; even the First Registration was 2 months thereafter.

In the First Registration of World War I, the registrants exceeded the "census" figures by 10% in the aggregate, with the excess being particularly large for the highest age, namely, age 30. In fact, if allowance be made roughly for 200,000 men in this age group 21-30 who did not register because they had previously enlisted, the figure would be 12%. The more than 25% excess of registrations for men age 30 does not seem explainable other than that many men

\* Includes persons attaining age 32 between September 12, 1917 and June 5, 1918. Population figures from Census adjusted to represent this roughly ½-year group.

<sup>h</sup> Figure for registrants includes those of unknown age and non-registered enlistments (see footnote a).

just beyond this age must have registered in order to be certain that they were not breaking the law when they did not know their exact age and perhaps rounded it down to 30 from 31 or 32. Some indication that this is so is given by the data of the Second and Third Registrations, where for age 32 a year later there are significantly less registrants than estimated total population. Thus, if those aged 30 in the First Registration in 1917 be added in with those age 32 in the Third Registration in September 1918, the excess of the registrants over the "census" population is only 8%.

Considering the remainder of the data (for the Second and Third Registrations), the estimated total population based on the Census greatly exceeds the registrants for ages 19-21, which is undoubtedly due to the element of enlistees not being registrants. On the other hand, age 18 registrants somewhat exceeded estimates based on census data, probably due to the many registrants below age 18 who hoped to get into military service more than offsetting the number of men actually of this age who had already enlisted. The excess of the estimated population over registrants for age 32 has already been discussed. For ages 33-35 the registrants exceeded the estimated population by about 5%, while for the next two quinquennial age groups the registrants were in excess by about 3%. For the Second and Third Registrations combined the registrants were about 2% lower than the total estimated population, while for all three registrations combined the registrants had an excess of about 3%. However, neither of these two comparisons is significant because of the very important element of enlistees not being included with the registrants. Making adjustment for registrants of unknown age and for enlistees who had not registered, the adjusted total "registrants" exceeded the estimated population by 10%.

Thus, it would appear that according to Selective Service registration data of the two wars, there was underenumeration in the magnitude of 10% in the 1920 Census as compared to only 3-4% in the 1940 Census. Whereas there was no trend by age

in the apparent underenumeration in the 1940 Census, this analysis indicates that in the 1920 Census the underenumeration had a decreasing trend with age, being only 3-4% beyond age 35 and and therefore somewhat larger than 10% at ages 20 to 30.

If these analyses, both those of Price in regard to World War II Selective Service data and those of this paper in regard to World War I and World War II data, are valid, there seems definite indication of significant underenumeration in the decennial censuses, at least among the adult male population. In general, this would seem to amount for the country as a whole to possibly 4% for the total male population at the adult ages, and 3% and 15% for the corresponding white and negro populations. There appears to be little variation in these proportions by age, although there is a slight indication that the underenumeration is somewhat greater at the younger ages. The analyses made, of course cannot give indication as to whether the same situation prevails for children and for adult women, but it seems very likely that this is at least to some extent the case.

However, there is one fatal weakness which possibly to a large extent invalidates all these analyses or at least casts considerable doubt on them, namely, the accuracy and reliability of the Selective Service data of both wars. These data were collected locally, and the local boards had a considerable degree of independence, which may be a good thing from a national and political viewpoint but not from a statistical reporting standpoint. For instance, it seems quite likely that many individuals registered more than once as they moved from one section of the country to another. Each local board was very desirous of obtaining as many registrants as possible to "show what a good job it was doing" so that rather than accepting the changes of address, new registrations may have been accepted in many instances.

Several specific instances of unreliability in Selective Service data may be quoted here to back up the qualitative personal viewpoint expressed above. First, in the report "Selective Service in Peacetime, First

Report of the Director of Selective Service, 1940-41" which contains the statistical data used by Price, negro registrants are shown on page 420. The term "negro" has been defined in the literature of the Selective Service System as excluding "other" races which are grouped with "white." However, on this page there are shown to be some 50,000 negro registrants in Hawaii (out of total registrants of about 65,000), while in Puerto Rico there were shown to be no negro registrants out of a total of 260,000! That these figures are obviously incorrect, may be seen from the fact that in 1940 Hawaii had a total negro population of only 255; for Puerto Rico the corresponding figure was 450,000. Quite obviously if this misclassification by race was prevalent in the State data, the resulting indications of census underenumeration by race as made in the several analyses were not valid.

Second, the Selective Service System report "Age in the Selective Service Process" presents on page 19 the age distribution of registrants in World War I, as shown in my previous Table 4. The casual reader looking at this table would be shocked by seeing that at age 32 there are shown to be only 500,000 registrants in comparison to 900,000 to 1,000,000 registrants at the adjacent ages. The text gives no discussion of this striking phenomenon, although it does

casually mention the less relevant analysis that "It is interesting to note that there were more than a million men each in ages 22, 24, and 31." This report evidently did not give consideration to the basic data from which it drew these figures, or otherwise there would have been pointed out that those shown as age 32 in 1918 included only those persons who attained age 32 in the roughly 9-month period September 12, 1917, to June 5, 1918.

In summary, both Price's studies and these indicate on the basis of Selective Service data the presence of significant underenumeration in the census, apparently not only among young adult males where there is much migration and lack of stability of residence, but also among older adult males. However, some question may be raised as to the validity of the resulting conclusions because of the nature of the Selective Service data being such as to contain overstatements as a result of over-registration and other factors. There is, nonetheless, clear enough evidence of possible underenumeration in the decennial censuses such that extensive studies should be made by the Bureau of the Census in regard to this factor just as it has in the past studied the extent of underenumeration of young children in the decennial censuses and the under-registration of births and deaths.

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF SCHIZOPHRENIA TO OCCUPATIONAL INCOME AND OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE\*

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THIS PAPER endeavors to determine the relationship existing in the city of Chicago between schizophrenic rates and the factors of occupational income and occupational prestige.

The studies of Ludwig Stern,<sup>1</sup> William

Nolan,<sup>2</sup> and Christopher Tietze et al.,<sup>3</sup> which

*Geistigen Erkrankung* ("Sammlung zwangloser Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Nerven-und Geisteskrankheiten," X, No. 2; Halle a.S.: C. Marhold, 1913), 1-62.

<sup>2</sup>William J. Nolan, "Occupation and Dementia Praecox," *State Hospital Quarterly*, III: 1 (February, 1918), 127-54.

<sup>3</sup>Christopher Tietze, Paul Lemkau, and Marcia Cooper, "Schizophrenia, Manic-Depressive Psychoses and Social-Economic Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (1941), 167-75.

\*Paper read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in New York City, December 28-30, 1947.

<sup>1</sup>Ludwig Stern, *Kulturkreis und Form der*

related occupation to schizophrenic rates are inadequate because none of them made sufficient allowance for the influence of the age factor upon occupational rates for schizophrenia. Since schizophrenia is far more prevalent among younger men than older men, the age composition of an occupation is bound to influence its rate for schizophrenia. The present study attempts to eliminate the age factor by applying the age-specific rates for each occupational group to a standard population. The factor of race-nativity is also held constant by the method of sub-classification.

The data consist of 3,332 white male first admissions with schizophrenia in the age interval 20-49 years inclusive from the City of Chicago during the time period 1922 to 1934 inclusive, to Chicago, Elgin, and Kankakee State Hospitals for the Insane, and to a number of private mental hospitals which accept mental patients from Chicago and the Chicago region. These data were collected by W.P.A. Project 3664, carried on under the sponsorship of the Illinois Psychopathic Institute at the University of Chicago under the direction of Miss Ethel Shanas. Funds for the machine sorting of the Hollerith cards were provided by the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago. The cases were tabulated by race-nativity, occupational group, type of psychosis, and age. Special census data for the City of Chicago for the year 1930 were obtained by race-nativity, occupational group, and age to provide a base upon which the occupational rates could be calculated and adjusted for age.

Inasmuch as we are relating the schizophrenic rates to occupational prestige and occupational income, let us now turn our attention to these data. The prestige which is attached to a given occupation appears to be a relatively stable element of our culture. It is stable in the sense that it changes very little within the time span of a decade, and that it is rather uniform in value geographically. This has been shown by a number of prestige studies of occupations, which indicate that the prestige rank of a given occupation is relatively the same al-

most any place in the United States in the time span of a decade. Counts<sup>4</sup> made a study of the occupational prestige rankings by students in six different schools in Connecticut and Minnesota. The correlation coefficients of the six groups' rankings were all above +.90. Almost ten years later Nietz<sup>5</sup> made a study of occupational prestige, drawing large samples from Ohio and Pennsylvania students. He used the same forty occupations that Counts did. The correlation of his rankings with those of Counts was +.95.

In an effort to arrive at a relatively objective estimate of the relative prestige of various occupational groups, a number of other studies besides those of Counts and Nietz was made, but only one other study, that of Mapheus Smith,<sup>6</sup> included a sufficient number of occupational groups for us to obtain an idea of the relative social prestige of the nineteen occupational groups used in the present study. By classifying the various occupations used in each of these three studies (the studies of Counts, Nietz, and Smith) into the occupational groupings used in the present study, it was possible to arrive at a rather good approximation of the rank for seventeen of the nineteen occupational groups used in this study. The results are shown in Table 1.

Occupational groups Artists and Errand Boys were not rated in the studies of Counts, Nietz, or Smith, and so they were not included in the final prestige ranking. Gaps in the rankings of a given study indicate that those occupational groups were not included in the study. You will note that there is no disagreement between the studies of Counts, Nietz, and Smith on the first five or the last six occupational groups.

Now let us turn to the consideration of

<sup>4</sup> G. S. Counts, "The Social Status of Occupations," *School Review*, XXXIII (1925), 16-27.

<sup>5</sup> J. A. Nietz, "The Depression and the Social Status of Occupations," *Elementary School Journal*, XXXV (1935), 454-61.

<sup>6</sup> Mapheus Smith, "An Empirical Scale of Prestige Status of Occupations," *American Sociological Review*, VIII (April, 1943), 185-92.



TABLE 1. RANKING OF OCCUPATIONS IN ORDER OF INCREASING PRESTIGE

Occupation	Source of Ranking			Composite Rank
	Counts	Nietz	Smith	
1 Peddler.....	..	1	1	1
2 Waiters.....	2	2	2	2
3 Semi-Skilled and Unskilled.....	3	3	3	3
4 Domestic.....	4	4	4	4
5 Barbers and Beauticians.....	5	5	5	5
6 Skilled Workers.....	6	8	6	6
7 Minor Government Employees.....	7	6	8	7
8 Policemen-Firemen.....	8	7	10	8
9 Salesmen.....	9	9	9	9
10 Office Employees.....	11	11	7	10
11 Major Salesmen.....	10	10	11	11
12 Sub-Executives.....	..	..	12	12
13 Small Tradesmen.....	13	13	13	13
14 Semi-Professional.....	..	..	14	14
15 Engineers.....	15	15	15	15
16 Clergy, Teachers.....	16	16	16	16
17 Large Owners, Professional.....	17	17	17	17

the ranking of occupational groups by income. A wage-salary index for the various occupational groups used in the present study was constructed from the 1940 census of Chicago.<sup>7</sup> Information was not available in adequate form for the year 1930, but it is not likely that the relative income of these occupational groups changed much in the course of a decade. The most glaring inadequacy of these data is that the income obtained from fees, investments, tips, etc., was not included. Many of the professional persons are paid on a fee basis, and so the data on this group are not complete. Another inadequacy of these data is that they are not given by age groups. However, in spite of the above mentioned weaknesses these data appear to be the best available, and so the wage-salary index was based on the median income for each occupational group for reported income from salary and wages of \$600.00 a year or more. The results are given in Table 2.

The rank order coefficient of correlation between income and prestige rankings for the seventeen occupational groups for which we have prestige rankings is +.85.

<sup>7</sup> *Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. III, Part II, The Labor Force* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 896-99.

This high correlation coefficient gives mutual support to our prestige and our income rankings, as we expected occupations

TABLE 2. MEDIAN INCOME FROM WAGES OR SALARY FOR CHICAGO GAINFULLY EMPLOYED MALES IN 1940 CENSUS

Occupational Group	Median Income
1. Errand and Office Boys.....	\$ 751
2. Peddlers.....	1,000
3. Waiters.....	1,031
4. Domestic.....	1,130
5. Barbers and Beauticians.....	1,175
6. Semi-Skilled and Unskilled.....	1,226
7. Salesmen.....	1,259
8. Skilled Workers.....	1,519
9. Office Employees.....	1,540
10. Artists, Actors, Musicians.....	1,563
11. Semi-Professional.....	1,704
12. Small Tradesmen.....	1,720
13. Sub-Executives.....	2,035
14. Policemen and Firemen.....	2,044
15. Major Salesmen.....	2,080
16. Minor Governmental Employees.....	2,174
17. Clergy, Teachers.....	2,185
18. Engineers.....	2,750
19. Large Owners, Professional.....	2,858

with high income to also have high prestige.

The ranking of occupational groups by age-adjusted schizophrenic rates is found in Table 3 which follows. We note that the

occupations with rates significantly *below* average are the white collar occupations: large owners, professional; major salesmen; small tradesmen; clergy, teachers; engineers; sub-executives; office workers; and salesmen. Police and firemen also have a rate significantly below average. Occupations with rates significantly *above* average are skilled workers; domestics; semi-skilled

schizophrenic rates with occupational income are calculated over nineteen occupational groups, and the correlations of schizophrenic rates with occupational prestige are calculated over seventeen occupational groups.

For *native whites* the correlation between occupational income and occupational schizophrenic rates is  $-.76$ . The correlation

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN WHITE AGE-ADJUSTED RATES PER 100,000 MEN AGE 20-49 YEARS INCLUSIVE FOR SCHIZOPHRENIC FIRST ADMISSIONS FROM CHICAGO TO NEARBY MENTAL HOSPITALS, 1922 TO 1934 INCLUSIVE, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupational Group	Number of Cases			Rates			S.E. for Both <sup>1</sup>	Critical Ratio of N.W.-F.W. Diff.
	N.W.	F.W.	Both	N.W.	F.W.	Both		
1. Large Owners, Professional.....	13	3	16	50	59	51 <sup>b</sup>	13	-.25
2. Major Salesmen (Brokers, etc.)...	18	7	25	83	184	94 <sup>b</sup>	19	-1.87
3. Small Tradesmen (Merchants, etc.)...	20	21	41	108	144	119 <sup>b</sup>	20	-.85
4. Police-Firemen.....	12	4	16	157	114	170 <sup>b</sup>	48	+.25
5. Clergy, Teachers, etc.....	10	4	14	169	228	193 <sup>b</sup>	52	-.42
6. Engineers (Civil, Electric, etc.).....	14	3	17	198	201	203 <sup>b</sup>	49	-.02
7. Sub-Executives.....	19	7	26	196	303	209 <sup>b</sup>	43	-.95
8. Office Workers.....	176	24	200	234	237	232 <sup>b</sup>	18	-.07
9. Salesmen.....	204	53	257	330	364	335 <sup>b</sup>	21	-.65
10. Semi-Professional.....	46	18	64	346	495	395	50	-1.23
11. Artists, Musicians, Actors.....	21	13	34	309	589	410	71	-1.68
12. Barbers, Beauticians.....	9	17	26	411	491	439	89	-.43
13. Skilled Workers.....	438	459	897	362	651	462 <sup>a</sup>	15	-8.73
14. Waiters.....	12	17	29	581	530	578	108	+.23
15. Domestic.....	30	40	70	618	607	604 <sup>a</sup>	73	+.07
16. Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Workers.	769	735	1,504	571	706	625 <sup>a</sup>	16	-3.94
17. Minor Governmental Employees...	35	5	40	753	1,405	797 <sup>a</sup>	127	-1.37
18. Peddlers.....	8	9	17	1,444	893	918 <sup>a</sup>	238	+1.07
19. Errand and Office Boys.....	34	5	39	3,508	2,700	3,255 <sup>a</sup>	831	+.37
All Occupations.....	1,888	1,444	3,332	355	563	419	7	-12.80

<sup>a</sup> This rate is significantly greater than the rate for All Occupations.

<sup>b</sup> This rate is significantly smaller than the rate for All Occupations.

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the standard error of the combined rate for native whites and foreign whites.

and unskilled workers; minor governmental employees; peddlers; errand and office boys. This indicates that in Chicago members of the occupations which have a relatively high income and prestige are *less* likely to be committed to a mental hospital for schizophrenia than are members of an occupational group which has low income and low prestige. This observation is quantified and verified by calculating a number of rank order correlation coefficients which will now be reported. The correlation of

between occupational prestige and occupational schizophrenic rates is  $-.80$ .

For *foreign whites* these two correlation coefficients are  $-.68$  and  $-.73$  respectively.

When we combine the data for native whites and foreign whites, calculate occupational age-adjusted rates, and correlate these rates with occupational income and occupational prestige, we obtain correlation coefficients of  $-.76$  and  $-.81$  respectively.

The question may be raised as to how far the commitment rates for schizophrenia

are indicative of the incidence of schizophrenia in the general population of Chicago. The data used in this study include commitments to private as well as to public mental hospitals. Thus wealthy as well as poor mental patients have an almost equal chance of being included in this study.

We do not have any data for the City of Chicago which give us the number of schizophrenic patients cared for privately at home and in mental hospitals outside of the Chicago region, but we may assume that very few such cases would fall in the lower paid occupational groups because they could not afford such treatment. By taking the ten lowest paid occupations, then, we may assume our commitment rates to private and public mental hospitals are reliable indices of the incidence of schizophrenia in these occupational groups. The correlation of occupational schizophrenic rates and occupational income over the ten lowest paid occupations is  $-.82$ .

These correlation coefficients, each of which is statistically significant, provide conclusive evidence that for the City of Chicago over the time period 1922 to 1934 inclusive the rates of first admission to public and private mental hospitals were *lower* in the occupational groups having relatively high income and high prestige, and *higher* in occupational groups having relatively low income and low prestige. These findings make full allowance for the factors of age and race-nativity.

The correlation of the native white and foreign white occupational rates is  $+.95$ . This means that the same factors which influence the schizophrenic rates in native white occupational groups also influence the schizophrenic rates in the foreign white occupational groups. We note, however, that the foreign white rates are rather consistently higher than the native white rates even when the factors of age and occupational groups are held constant. This consistent pattern could hardly have arisen by chance alone.

The chief findings of this paper are that the Chicago schizophrenic rates (and presumably the incidence of schizophrenia) are

negatively correlated with occupational income and with occupational prestige. The explanations for these correlation coefficients which follow are not part of the findings of this paper. They are simply suggestions or hypotheses presented without any proof.

It may be that the personality traits of the pre-schizophrenic operate as a handicap in his competition for better jobs. His self-consciousness, sensitivity, his withdrawal from normal social intercourse, his over-concern about his status and position, etc., operate to place him in a less favorable light when promotions are being handed out. His over-concern with himself and about his relations to others also uses up energy which otherwise might have been used to better himself occupationally.

It may be that the job itself has some bearing upon the incidence of schizophrenia. There is probably a greater amount of economic security and satisfaction with one's job in the higher paid occupations than in the lower paid occupations.<sup>8</sup> The dissatisfied and insecure worker is more likely to be susceptible to mental disorders than the worker who enjoys his work and feels his job is secure. Then too, one of the more important aspects of occupational income is the place it has in determining a person's status, and hence the person's conception of himself. Low income also restricts a person's choice of where he will live in the city, causing him to live in areas of social disorganization.<sup>9</sup> The pre-schizophrenic, whose personality is rigid rather than adjustable, if located in a poorly paying job is sorely taxed by all the problems of poverty. He also feels keenly a sense of personal failure, which is made manifest to him through his inability to achieve the occupational level which he thinks is expected of him.

It may be, too, that the low prestige aspect of an occupation increases the pre-schizophrenic's negative attitudes toward

<sup>8</sup> Robert Hoppock, *Job Satisfaction* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935).

<sup>9</sup> Robert E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939).

himself. His social withdrawal may be partly a result of his failure to find in the world of reality the bolsters to his weak ego which he requires.

The explanations why schizophrenia should be negatively correlated with occupational income and prestige are many and varied. Almost every explanation which can be offered relating schizophrenia to occu-

pational income and prestige is in line with the findings of the present study. The writer does not know which of these explanations should be given the more weight. They are presented simply to show that the findings of this paper, based upon the schizophrenic cases from the City of Chicago, appear to be reasonable, and may be expected to obtain in other cities as well.

## SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND MUSICAL TASTE\*

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Indiana University

THE NOTION that individual taste is not fortuitous but rather is controlled by cultural standards may be regarded as a truism. However, few empirical studies have been concerned with the manner in which difference in cultural background is associated with variation in the content of musical taste. The present study sought to determine whether difference in socio-economic background is associated with a significant variation in musical taste.

### PROCEDURE

Musical taste was measured on a five point scale; occupation was used as an index of socio-economic background. The relationship between musical taste and socio-economic background was estimated by classifying the same set of individuals by musical taste and by socio-economic background and then determining whether the two classifications were independent.<sup>1</sup> Classifications were considered independent of one another if  $P > .01$ . Data on sex, age, race, music training, and familiarity were also collected so that the relative importance of socio-economic background as measured by

occupation might be determined and so that the extent to which these factors are associated with musical taste might be determined.

*Gauging Musical Taste.* The main problems involved in the establishment of a technique for grouping respondents according to musical preference were two: (1) selecting discriminating musical selections, which, when presented to the listeners, would uncover variation in taste; and (2) devising a scale which would permit an individual to rate a given selection reliably. Phonograph recordings of the following musical numbers were presented to the listeners in fixed sequence:

1. *Drink To Me Only With Thine Eyes* (old song), Boston "Pops" Orchestra.
2. Bach, *Toccata, Adagio and Fugue in C Major* (classical), Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra.
3. *Sugar* (jazz), The Capitol Jazzmen.
4. Piston, *The Incredible Flutist* (modern classical), Boston "Pops" Orchestra.
5. Strauss, *Vienna Life* (old waltz), Andre Kostelanetz Orchestra.
6. Tchaikowsky, *Andante Cantabile* (light classical), Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra.
7. *Time and Time Again* (popular), Wayne King Orchestra.
8. *Beyond the Shadow of a Doubt* (hill-billy), Ted Daffan's Texans.

Each record was selected to illustrate a

\* Manuscript received December 4, 1947.

† The writer wishes to thank Professors Edwin H. Sutherland and John H. Mueller for many useful suggestions made in connection with the preparation of the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of tests of independence see R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*, 10th ed., Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946, pp. 85-92.

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somewhat distinct type of music and to differentiate preference responses in a distinctive manner. It is probable that different results would have been obtained if more, or other, selections had been included in the series. This criticism may be answered by acknowledging that the series of eight is not exhaustive, that the selections are not representative in a statistical sense, and that conclusions on the differential appeal of music apply only to the selections used in this study.

Presenting the musical items in a fixed order assures that the effect of the sequence on the relative appeal of the items used in the series is the same for all individuals. It may be assumed that the relative popularity of a given selection is partly a function of its position in the sequence, but the test of the hypothesis is not weakened by this assumption. The first part of each record was reproduced for roughly one minute; each selection being concluded at a point that marked the completion of a musical phrase.<sup>2</sup> Only the mode of presentation was controlled; that is, orchestral renditions were used while vocal and solo instrumental music were excluded. The need for experimental control is relative to the problem being studied and it is doubtful whether the test of the central hypothesis would have been strengthened by controlling such factors as key and rhythm. On the contrary, the difference between laboratory and extramural conditions might be such as to render the findings useless from a sociological point of view.

*The Rating Scale.* Numerous devices have been developed for estimating differences in

attitudes, opinions, and preferences. In the present study, variation in musical taste was estimated by requesting respondents to choose from five statements the one best describing their reaction to the music. The five statements were presented in the following order:

1. Like it a great deal
2. Like it
3. Dislike it
4. Dislike it a great deal
5. Undecided

The technique of ranking a musical selection in terms of categoric responses seemed most suitable for purposes of the present study. Permitting individuals to write in their opinions makes the classification of responses difficult. This was an important consideration since we polled untrained individuals of all ages, generally unaccustomed to questionnaire situations, and many at least would have found it difficult to formulate their opinion. A rating scale with ten or more points might have yielded a more refined picture of group taste, but it is doubtful whether the rank order of the musical selections would have been affected.<sup>3</sup>

*The Socio-Economic Classification.* The six-fold classification devised by A. M. Edwards, Bureau of the Census, is suitable for grouping large numbers quickly and definitely into somewhat distinct socio-economic groups. The Bureau of the Census makes the claim that groups derived by the Edwards' procedure show "a somewhat distinct standard of life economically, and to a considerable extent, intellectually and socially." Thus, "each of them is a really distinct, and highly significant socio-economic group."<sup>4</sup> Although it may be maintained that occupation differentiates the population into socio-economic groups as reliably as any other single criterion, the inadequacy of a classification based on a single indicator such as occupation may operate to conceal

<sup>2</sup> The assumption that an individual makes a stable preference judgment quickly and automatically was pretested by asking a group of college students to check on signal the statement which best fit their reaction to a given musical selection. The procedure consisted of signalling at the end of the first minute, at the end of the second minute, and so on, until a given record was finished. The findings reveal that most of the subjects knew almost immediately whether they liked or disliked a certain musical number and that generally preference judgments remained unchanged during the playing of a record.

<sup>3</sup> G. D. Weibe, "A Comparison of Various Rating Scales Used in Judging the Merits of Popular Songs," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 23:18-22.

<sup>4</sup> U. S. Census, *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940*, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943, p. 179.

the relationship being investigated. Thus, group differences in musical taste may be hidden by reason of the fact that comparisons are made among socio-economic groups that are not homogeneous. Likewise, inadequate classifications by age, religious background, nationality background, educational status, and musical background, may obscure the relationship being studied. For example, the association between musical taste and music training may remain undetected, or even distorted, because the population is inadequately classified with respect to this variable.

*Administering the Test.* The data were collected in Evansville, Indiana, an industrial city with a population around 100,000. Over 1,200 persons, distributed among 27 groups,<sup>5</sup> were given the music preference test. The test consisted of two parts: the first part requested background information, while the second part provided a record of an individual's verbal responses to the musical selections. Before the records were played, the listeners were instructed to proceed in the following manner: "At the conclusion of a given selection, choose from the five statements the one which best fits your opinion of the selection; next, indicate whether you have heard it many times, several times, or never; and, finally, select from the three descriptive words the one which best fits the music." About thirty minutes were required to distribute and collect the ballots, to fill in the schedule, and to play

the phonograph records.

Spontaneous cooperation was difficult to secure because many persons who were approached were unable to understand the purpose of the study. Some refused to assist because of the lack of time, others lacked interest, and a few were antagonistic. Several church workers, for example, seemed to regard the study as irreligious, informing the investigator that only religious music is suitable for the edification of man. Physical and psychological conditions under which the auditions took place were not uniform, since the test was administered in the room in which a group met and at the time set by its chairman. It is impossible to estimate the effect of the situation on the reliability of the data, but the similarity in musical taste for comparable socio-economic, sex, and age groups suggests that it was not great.

*The Sample.* The 1,077 usable cases included 538 men and 539 women; 91% of the cases were white and 9% negro; 57% were under thirty years old. Compared with the Evansville age distribution, the number of cases under thirty was disproportionately large, while the number of persons thirty and over was too small. Any generalization about the Evansville population would therefore be correspondingly biased, if musical preference is influenced by age. The number of cases falling in each socio-economic group was as follows: Professional, 106; Business, 135; Clerical, 183; Skilled Workers, 188; Semi-Skilled Workers, 166; Unskilled Workers, 110. It was impossible to classify 189 cases by socio-economic class because precise information was lacking. In testing for association between musical taste and socio-economic background, only five socio-economic groups were used, since age and sex were not controlled in the socio-economic class composed of unskilled workers or their dependents.<sup>6</sup> In this group, one-half of the cases were under twenty and seventy per cent of the cases were female.

<sup>5</sup>Only a small number of organizations composed of individuals belonging to this socio-economic class could be found, and, of these, only several could be induced to participate in the study.

<sup>6</sup>The following organizations cooperated: The Eagles, The Owls, Moose Lodge No. 85, The Red Men's Lodge (Women's Auxiliary), The Business and Professional Women, Deaconess Hospital Nursing School, St. Boniface Church P.T.A., The Bricklayer's Union, The 1st Ave. Presbyterian Church Pastor's Aid Society, Beta Sigma Pi, The Sisters of Assumption School, Central High School, Lincoln High School, Lockyear's Business College, Bethel Evangelical and Reformed Church Brotherhood, Bethel Evangelical and Reformed Church Women's Guild, The Union Chamber of Commerce, The American Legion, The Germania Mannerchor, The Salvation Army, Carver Community Center, The YMCA Men's Club, The Industrial Union Council, Simpson Methodist Church Young Adults Class, Veterans of Foreign Wars, St. John's Evangelical and Reformed Church Women's Guild, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union.

Furthermore, about fifty per cent of the cases were negro; if comparisons had been drawn, it would have been necessary to nullify the race factor in order to estimate the importance of the socio-economic factor.

## FINDINGS

*Socio-Economic Background.* Difference in socio-economic background, as shown in Table 1, was associated with variation in

kinds. That a high degree of familiarity does not always lead to tolerance and approval, however, indicates that additional factors influence musical judgments. In some instances, class traditions may prescribe that familiar music be looked on with disapproval, while music seldom heard may be looked on with approval if the class tradition demands that such music be favorably heard.

TABLE 1. PROBABILITY VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH CHI-SQUARE AS DETERMINED BY CLASSIFYING RESPONDENTS BY PREFERENCE CATEGORIES AND BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND, SEX, AGE, AND MUSIC TRAINING

Musical Selections <sup>1</sup>	Socio-Economic Background	Sex	Age	Music Training	
				30 and over	Under 30
Old Song	.03	<.01	<.01	<.01	.01
Classical	<.01	<.01	.04	<.01	<.01
Jazz	<.01	.14	<.01	<.01	<.01
Modern Classical	.02	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01
Old Waltz	.08	.04	.04	.08	.03
Light Classical	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01	.03
Popular	.25	<.01	<.01	.78	.35
Hill-Billy	<.01	.02	<.01	.03	<.01

<sup>1</sup> See p. 330 for complete titles.

taste on classical, light classical, jazz, and hill-billy music. Classical and light classical music had the greatest appeal for the upper classes, while jazz and hill-billy music had the greatest appeal for the lower classes. That some music may have considerable appeal for all social classes is indicated by the manner in which listeners responded to the old song, the old waltz, and popular music.

These findings may be tentatively interpreted as follows: socio-economic position operates to channelize experiences in such a way that a given individual tends to form a favorable attitude toward certain kinds of music and an unfavorable attitude towards other kinds. Thus, members of the upper social classes are more likely to receive training in music, and music training, as the findings show, has a pronounced influence on musical taste. Likewise, familiarity affects musical taste and socio-economic position may cause an individual to be regularly exposed to some kinds of music and remain virtually isolated from other

Sex. Observed differences between men and women (see Table 1) were found to be statistically significant on five selections. Of these five selections, three were presented to illustrate classical music, which findings suggest that the enjoyment of classical music in American culture is primarily a feminine reaction. In general, more women than men responded favorably to all types of music; hill-billy music was the only selection to elicit a higher proportion of affirmative replies from the men.

The sex factor is important in the measure that it controls experiences which condition musical taste. For example, difference in musical taste by sex is partly a function of difference in music training. However, differences in music training do not completely account for differences between men and women since these differences did not disappear altogether when music training was held constant. Some variation is probably due to the tradition which causes women to prefer music which is considered genteel, the same tradition causing men to

look on this kind of music in a somewhat derogatory fashion. The acceptance of classical music by women and their rejection of hill-billy music fits this idea.

*Age.* Age played a highly significant part in shaping the response patterns of six of the eight selections (Table 1); only the Bach fugue and the Strauss waltz failed to produce significant differences among age groups. The findings on age are consistent with the belief that old people find old songs relatively appealing and new music relatively distasteful. Thus, individuals fifty and over gave the highest ratings to *Drink To Me Only With Thine Eyes* and *Andante Cantabile*, while jazz, popular, and contemporary serious music received the lowest ratings from this age group.

Observed differences in musical taste among age groups reflect the differentiating effect of age on social experience. The interests of the young people lead them quite naturally into contact with some kinds of new music, while old people are relatively isolated from many kinds of new music. This relative isolation of old people from popular music may cause them to regard such music unfavorably and to exaggerate the appeal of the music with which they are more or less familiar.

*Race.* Because sex and age were not controlled in the sample of negro respondents, comparisons between all negro and all white respondents were not made. In order to check on the popular impression that negro behavior usually differs from the behavior of white people, fifty-eight negro girls under twenty were compared with seventy-eight white girls drawn from roughly the same socio-economic stratum. This breakdown revealed no significant differences in musical taste between groups, thus allowing the inference to be drawn that negro and white girls, representing the same socio-economic level, have roughly the same opinions about music. Negro girls were slightly more tolerant of hill-billy and contemporary serious music, whereas the white group was somewhat more enthusiastic about the waltz, jazz, and popular music. The fact that the white group in general expressed stronger opinions may

mean that for the population studied the social world of white adolescents is characterized by rather definite standards which induce conformity, while definite standards are absent from the social world of negro adolescents, accounting for their greater indifference to all kinds of music.

*Music Training.* The effect of training on musical taste was estimated by comparing respondents answering "Yes" with those answering "No" to the questions: "Did you ever take music lessons?" "Can you play a musical instrument?" and "Can you read music?" In order to nullify partially the effect of age, separate comparisons between trained and untrained respondents were drawn within two age groups: under thirty and thirty and over. Differences between trained and untrained (see Table 1) were significant on the old song, classical, jazz, and contemporary serious music, for both age groups; on light classical music for individuals thirty and over; and on hill-billy music for individuals under thirty. With respect to the old waltz and popular music, music training did not produce a bias, the conclusion being that difference in opinion on these two selections was not associated with difference in musical background. Generalizing, we may say that music training produces a negative attitude toward jazz and hill-billy music; and that with popular music, so-called, difference in music training is unrelated to variation in taste; variation, insofar as it exists, is caused by other conditions.

The findings on the effect of socio-economic background with music training constant<sup>1</sup> suggest that socio-economic background has conditioning effect on attitudes toward music regardless of music training.

*Familiarity.* Listeners were requested to

<sup>1</sup> The relative importance of socio-economic background was estimated by holding constant training in music and then determining whether observed differences among socio-economic groups were significant. Probability based on goodness of fit within a table of percentages was used to test the significance of observed differences. See H. Cantrell, *Gauging Public Opinion*, Appendix iii, F. M. Mosteller, "Sampling and Breakdowns," for a detailed discussion of this procedure.



indicate by a check mark whether they had heard a given selection "Many Times," "Several Times," or "Never," and were classified accordingly. For all musical selections, as shown in Table 2, the ratio of

TABLE 2. RATIO<sup>1</sup> OF AFFIRMATIVE TO NEGATIVE REPLIES BY DEGREE OF FAMILIARITY

Musical Selections	Familiarity Categories		
	Many Times	Several Times	Never
Old Song	45.4	25.7	1.6
Classical	10.9	3.4	.8
Jazz	10.8	3.7	1.3
Modern Classical	9.8	2.0	.5
Old Waltz	118.3	20.4	2.3
Light Classical	152.0	4.9	.9
Popular	103.3	14.0	2.1
Hill-billy	3.0	1.4	5

<sup>1</sup> The ratio may be written,  $r = \frac{1+2l'}{d+2d'}$ , where  $l$  equals the number who liked a given selection,  $l'$  the number who liked it a great deal,  $d$  the number who disliked it, and  $d'$  the number who disliked it a great deal. Thus a ratio of 1.00 indicates that the favorable opinion, as measured, just equals the unfavorable opinion.

affirmative to negative replies decreased regularly with decreasing degree of familiarity. That is to say, the highest proportion of affirmative replies on a given selection was always found within the class made up of listeners replying "Many Times" to the question: "Have you heard this selection before?"

Although on all musical numbers the appeal went up with increasing familiarity, the generalization that an increase in familiarity is always accompanied by an increase in preference is not warranted by the results of this study. Thus, hill-billy music was relatively more familiar than *Andante*

*Cantabile*, yet listeners gave the latter selection a higher rating.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the idea that familiarity and preference are positively correlated is supported by the following evidence: (1) For all selections the proportion of likes and dislikes changed directly with changes in familiarity; (2) The most familiar selections were also adjudged the most appealing; 820 and 783 listeners reported having heard the old waltz and the old song "Many Times," and these two selections were the favorites in the series of eight. The least favored selection, *The Incredible Flutist*, was also the least familiar.

#### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. Musical taste is conditioned by persistent biases or attitudes, which, in turn, reflect the differentiating force of occupation, age, and sex on cultural experience.

2. The fact that musical preferences exhibit consensus confirms the sociological view that musical taste is socially controlled and opposes the common sense formula that "there is no accounting for taste."

3. The findings on familiarity are consistent with the sociological generalization that people tend to be ethnocentric about familiar stimuli. Although continuous exposure to a particular kind of music does not necessarily lead to a favorable attitude toward such music, it appears that isolation usually leads to a negative judgment.

4. The results of this study indicate, finally, that generalizations about aesthetic judgments, in general, and musical taste, in particular, must take into account the specific cultural background of the group or of the individual.

<sup>8</sup> These results suggest that persons are more or less familiar with styles of music as well as with specific selections.

## OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS

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### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The forty-third annual meeting of The American Sociological Society will be held at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, December 28-30, 1948. The general theme of the program will be "Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World," but it is not intended that all papers presented will be relevant to this theme.

The Executive Committee wishes to encourage wider participation in the program by the membership. To this end, all who would like to give

papers are asked to submit 300-word abstracts of them by August 15 to the Chairman of the Committee on Contributed Papers, Dr. Paul W. Tappan, Washington Square College, New York University, New York. The committee will screen these abstracts and forward those it deems acceptable to the appropriate Section Chairmen. The latter will build their programs in consultation with the undersigned.

The Program Committee  
ERNEST R. MOWRER  
ROBERT C. ANGELL  
FRANKLIN FRAZIER, *Chairman*

## CURRENT ITEMS

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### NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING NEW DIRECTIONS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

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Those who consider the basic function of education in the school or in the community to be that of developing human personalities capable of participating effectively in the dynamic interactions of contemporary and future society may well pause and consider the social effectiveness of current educational practices. They will soon find recent research has shown that American education, in general, has fallen far short of expectations in developing a youth fully capable of deep social participation in American and world life and institutions. There is considerable evidence pointing to the soundness of this conclusion. Before the War the Regents' Inquiry of the University of the State of New York, in interpreting the results of a comprehensive survey of the characteristics of "about twenty-three thousand boys and girls in sixty-two general high schools" in New York State gave a dismal picture of the social competence of the youth

who left the high school, either as graduates or before graduation. Francis T. Spaulding,<sup>1</sup> in summarizing the comprehensive findings of these surveys pointed out that young people leaving high school are "seriously deficient" in their knowledge of current issues, think in terms of "catchwords and slogans" instead of logical processes, give mere verbal allegiance to democratic ideals, without understanding their deeper meaning, are "reluctant to assume responsibility for civic cooperation," and actually fail to participate deeply in society after graduation. Dr. John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, fully recognized the truth of these findings when he said recently, "Too many of our young people are receiving an obsolete education in the high schools."<sup>2</sup>

Another evidence of the grave shortcomings of our education is the stark fact that six million residents of the United States (one in every twenty-three inhabitants) have "their finger prints and the records of their arrests in the files

<sup>1</sup> Francis T. Spaulding, *High School and Life* (The Regents' Inquiry) New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938.

<sup>2</sup> John W. Studebaker as quoted by Benjamin Fine, *The Denver Post*, Nov. 23, 1947.

of the Federal Bureau of Investigation."<sup>3</sup> Without doubt, most of these six-million people (and probably many others too) have more interest in unlawful rather than in lawful actions. Furthermore, in 1946, twenty-one per cent of all arrests were persons under twenty-one years of age! And what is even more significant, Sullenger,<sup>4</sup> after a study of delinquency in Nebraska, concluded that the school as well as the home often provided "training" in delinquency. Thus, education today is judged to fall far short of its basic purpose.

Reasons generally given for the current social shortcomings of the school are: (1) a curriculum untuned to modern society, and (2) methods of instruction which violate human personality.<sup>5</sup>

Obviously, the current shortcomings of education require a deeper analysis of current educational processes and practices and the development of a new practical social technology in education. Where are to be found those who can give wise guidance in these matters? Obviously, those who by training are specialists in the dynamics of (1) society and (2) the social processes<sup>6</sup> which develop personality are qualified in these areas. These are the sociologists; and those of them who give their attention to education are the educational sociologists.

But educational sociologists to be of service to education must join the analyses of library and laboratory to the practical problems of the teacher in her daily struggles (1) to provide a curriculum, and (2) a method that promise to attain more effective results. Educational sociology cannot be a pure science; it must be applied to the control of education. It will take sociologists into practical school work as industrial sociology has taken the sociologist into the factory.

#### *Educational Sociology in Curriculum Construction*

Sociologists should be of great help in curriculum building, for sociologists, as has been pointed out, are specialists in the study of the dynamic society and its culture; and they con-

ceive of it as a totality of interdependent social institutions which can be studied by various modern research techniques. Though a considerable body of information has been collected by sociologists and other social scientists on the content and operations of societies in general and of societies in particular, the hands of these experts do not seem to have touched too firmly the curriculum of the schools. As a consequence attempts to develop a curriculum of the schools like a miniature of society (when carried on at all) have been too often made by enthusiastic but not sociologically trained educational technicians.

In the elementary schools of the country as a whole a survey made by Wesley shows that the curriculum is largely "atomistic" rather than an interdependent totality of society in miniature.<sup>7</sup> In grades I-II, subjects considered are the home, the family, the school, the community, food, shelter, clothing, protection, Indian life, life in other lands, holidays, and making a living. This has possibilities for integration. But in other elementary grades the integration is not clear. Thus, in Grade IV, geography, local history, state history, and occupations are taught. In Grade V, it is American History, industries, and occupations, geography of the United States and North America. In Grade VI, it is European Backgrounds, geography of Europe, Asia and Africa. Despite the fine work done in many communities, the social studies in elementary schools in general appear to be a miscellaneous collection of special subjects.

Arrington<sup>8</sup> observes, significantly too, that the social studies in the elementary schools hold relatively little *specific* sociological content and that teachers often make curricula in the social studies in collaboration with their pupils. No one would expect a special sociology course in the elementary school; but specific sociological knowledge does not appear to be interwoven adequately with other social studies knowledge.

Possibly one explanation of the partial success of the general influence of sociology on elementary education but the failure of its specific influence in vital matters is that a course in the principles of sociology may be the only course in the subject pursued by a teacher in her train-

<sup>3</sup> J. Edgar Hoover, *The American Magazine*, March, 1946.

<sup>4</sup> T. Earl Sullenger, *Social Determinants of Delinquency* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1930).

<sup>5</sup> Harold F. Clark and others, "The Social Effectiveness of Education," in *Review of Educational Research*, X: 38-51, February, 1940.

<sup>6</sup> See Francis J. Brown, *Educational Sociology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947).

<sup>7</sup> Edgar B. Wesley and Mary A. Adams, *Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1946), 32.

<sup>8</sup> Ruth Arrington, "Sociology in Elementary Social Studies," part of a report of a committee of the American Sociological Society on teaching sociology in the public schools.

ing. Though Landis showed it to be by far the most frequent title in sociology in the teachers colleges of the United States,<sup>9</sup> it still is far from being generally required. The offering in educational sociology is slight, comparatively. Consequently, teachers are inadequately prepared to develop social studies curricula to include either an adequate body of vital sociological materials or a basic sociological orientation.

Despite the sociological deficiencies of the typical elementary school curriculum, some notable progress has been made in a few leading schools toward making the elementary curriculum an interdependent and dynamic whole. Take for example, the elementary school curriculum of the Minneapolis Public Schools.<sup>10</sup> The outline of the "areas of living" reads almost like the table of contents of Lynd's *Middletown*. It is as follows: making a living, contributing to home living, participating in organized group living in a democratic society, conserving life and health, expressing aesthetic and spiritual impulses, and engaging in recreational and educational activities. The Minneapolis elementary curriculum also stresses group life and the interdependence of people by beginning in the kindergarten with the study of home and school communities and then continuing vertically in the grades with the neighborhood community, the district, the city, the United States and to some extent, the world and its communities. In this manner this elementary curriculum applies in practice a program for participation in society as a whole and for growth in participation—from local community to the national community, with a glimpse of the world community beyond.

There are numerous other outstanding examples of the general influence of sociology upon the basic pattern of the curriculum.

But much remains to be done. Here is where there is a great opportunity for sociologists interested in education to take steps to provide: (1) basic sociological training for all elementary school teachers, and (2) leadership for teachers in planning curricula, if in no other way than by setting up model curricula and publishing them as examples to be studied. Broad generalizations loaded with sociological concepts go right

over the heads of practicing teachers! Academic brilliance, something fearful to behold, must be supplemented by a practical technology in curriculum making for elementary schools in many different types of communities.

When one turns to the teaching of social studies in the high school there seems to be no attempt at a unified whole, of which sociology has a part, but rather there are offered a series of highly "atomistic" subjects—apparently it is left for the student to put the parts together himself! There is sufficient evidence to suggest that the student does *not* do so!

A recent nationwide survey made by Meredith<sup>11</sup> gave the following general picture of the social studies program in the high schools of the United States (abbreviated):

Grade VII-VIII—U. S. History

Grade IX—Civics

Grade X—World History

Grade XI—U. S. History

Grade XII—Problems of Democracy

Without at the moment criticizing the current social studies courses in the high school, we can at the same time look at them with the eye of the sociologist, aware that society is a dynamic, integrated whole. The high school social studies curriculum does not seem to be much related to the needs of an interdependent dynamic society, either American or world! Available investigations, as have been cited, verify this interpretation of the probable results of the faulty organization of the social studies curriculum in the high school.

In view of this situation, sociologists interested in education have an urgent call to exert leadership in at least three directions: (1) to assist high school teachers and curriculum planners in developing a social studies curriculum leading to an understanding of social institutions and their interdependence. This would involve: (1) making available for practical interpretation information on societies, past and present; (2) developing and teaching courses on the curriculum in teacher training institutions—the insights of such a teacher should be a supplement to those of one trained in administration or individualistic psychology; and (3) seeing to it that a *balanced* presentation of knowledge of all types, including sociological knowledge, is included in the curriculum.

The sociologist in educational research would

<sup>9</sup> See Judson T. Landis, "The Sociology Curriculum and Teacher Training," *American Sociological Review* (12: February, 1947), 113-116.

<sup>10</sup> Division of Elementary Education, Minneapolis Public Schools, *A Guide to Teaching the Social Studies in the Elementary School*, 1943. (Selected by Ruth Arrington as a good example.)

<sup>11</sup> Dorothy Meredith, "Secondary School Social Studies in 1945," *Social Education* 9 (December, 1945), 345-349.



endeavor to make the high school social studies curriculum a miniature of current society on a more penetrating level of experience and dynamic interdependence than that of the elementary school; and extend deep understandings to the world situation. All social institutions would be studied, in their interrelationships—from local community to the world. Without benefit of further research (which is recommended) the writer might dare suggest the following high school social studies curriculum as a substitute for the one most current.

Grade VII-VIII—The Local Community (including vocations)

Grade IX—American Life and Institutions

Grade X—History of the Americas

Grade XI—Contemporary World Civilizations

Grade XIII—Family and Social Relationships

It would seem that the foregoing suggested curriculum in social studies would be much better for the schools than those currently used for the plan is more all-inclusive. It begins with a study of the local community—its social, economic and political organization and then moves out to the study of American life and institutions as a whole; then there is a pause to study the history of the Americas—of the United States, Canada, Mexico and South America—so that the whole Western Hemisphere may be understood; following this the Americas are placed in their world setting. Finally, before leaving high school, at the marriageable age, students are introduced to basic information, concerning the selection of mates, marriage relationships and basic principles of social relations.

This is a basic social science program, not economics, geography, history, political science or sociology; but a weaving of all into an understanding of human relations on all levels, in all types of institutions and civilizations! In this plan sociology has its place with the other disciplines. No longer should the specialized disciplines of the colleges endeavor to introduce their hobbies as independent subjects in the high school. Rather subject matter specialists must work together to provide an integrated whole! This is the point of view of sociology in education!

In the junior college level probably an extension of the high school program in the area of social studies would be more desirable than the specialized courses given at present.

#### *Educational Sociology in Methods of Learning*

Turning from the sociological approach to the curriculum to the aspects of learning that are

social it may be said that sociology and social psychology, under the leadership of such pioneer thinkers as Cooley, G. H. Mead, Moreno, and many others have provided the basis for a new approach to methods of learning. They have shown with great clarity that "the person is a product of social life"; and, more than this, they have demonstrated in detail how the interaction process in the small group develops the human personality, both normal and abnormal. Mead has shown that<sup>12</sup> in small groups one can have the experiences that enable him to "become an object to himself" because he has the opportunity of looking at himself as others in the group do and by the process of assuming the role of others and looking at one's self from this point of view of others "become conscious of himself as others are." Furthermore, to learn to participate in group life one must have practice in taking the role of others. Again, by taking the roles of numerous "generalized others" one comes to understand why many different groups behave as they do and thus develop social insight. At the same time one participates in the role taking process—*meaning* and the *mind* emerges, according to Mead. And experimental research indicates the validity of these concepts.<sup>13</sup>

When one considers current teaching methods, by and large, throughout the country there is seen to be very little application of sociological insights into the manner in which personality develops. Probably routine recitation methods of conducting classes still dominate in the schools; many elementary schools make free use of group activities, often however, without much insight into the mechanism of the group process, panel and group discussions of varying types are used in the high schools, sometimes in effective ways; but role-playing is hardly a dominant phase of these activities, except incidentally.

But, upon the basis of emerging theory and research in personality development new methods for learning are being developed by pioneer thinkers in educational sociology. Moreno has been among the first to conceive the practical educational possibilities of the new insights into learning.<sup>14</sup> He has devised what he calls the *sociodrama*. In this type of group activity there

<sup>12</sup> G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935).

<sup>13</sup> See T. M. Newcomb and others, *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), 297-366.

<sup>14</sup> J. L. Moreno, *Sociodrama* (New York: Beacon House, Inc., 1944).

is a deep-going role-playing process set up that realistically simulates in the classroom many of the dynamic intra- and intergroup activities of society. Thus, society may lose its abstract nature and become a dynamic reality—deeply influencing the development of personality and social insight.

As the writer interprets the sociodrama, it may be utilized in schools and colleges somewhat after the following manner:<sup>15</sup>

1. The first step is setting of the "stage" for the *sociodrama*. This is done by the instructor. For example, he might set the stage for a consideration of certain aspects of the problem of labor policy by presenting a history of the rise of the problem and the attitude of both labor and capital toward the problem of labor. He might crystalize the issue by posing a problem like: "Should the Taft-Hartley Labor Act Be Repealed?" And, then, follow up the question with a consideration of the typical roles representing various group approaches to the problem. This procedure sets the stage for the dynamic actions and interactions characteristic of life itself. Students are asked to prepare themselves for participation in simulated interaction.

2. After proper preparation (not memorization) for assuming different roles, the time has come for "warming up" to the playing of the roles, as Moreno says. The experience of the writer is such as to recommend the division of a class into small "private" groups in which the members "try out" the various roles in intimate face-to-face contact. In these groups discussion can be intense and at the same time spontaneous, yet based on knowledge of the culture of groups. While the small group discussions are going on the instructor is in a position to observe the degree to which participants can represent the culture of a certain group.

3. After the members of a class are "warmed up" to role playing, the time has come for the third step in the socio-dramatic process—the sociodrama itself. Representatives of the class play roles before the class—some representing the position of labor unions, others of the National Association of Manufacturers, others the position of the Federal Administration, others the position of the general public, etc. Thus, the culture of different groups and the interactions between them can come under the experienced scrutiny of the class, the members of which have already had some living experience.

4. When the socio-drama has "run its course" the class may then be given the opportunity to evaluate the generalized role-playing of the participants, request re-enactment in a new way or even volunteer to show how a role might be played differently.

5. The fifth step may be a critical evaluation of

the drama or interaction by the instructor or a member of the class.

6. The final step is to relate the group experience to possible vital action. This may be done by the group decision.<sup>16</sup> Members of the class may indicate where they stand on the issue made living in the sociodrama by secret ballot, the results of which are immediately tabulated on the blackboard for all to see to be informed and guided. According to Lewin, a group decision promises considerably more action in the community than otherwise.

The sociodramatic type of learning should be of great interest to the educational sociologist and the teacher because it utilizes the group process in learning and personality development, and, thereby, substitutes living for what is often mere academic verbalism. Participation in dynamic group situations is a real test of the ability of a personality to function and a test of leadership ability, too. Numerous army experiments have shown that the best test of personality and degree of leadership ability of a person is to be found by measuring the success of functioning in a realistic group—the measures to be in terms of the average rating of social performance by skilled observers or by associates.

With the sociodrama one acquires both culture and personality in one dynamic process. Were schools throughout the country to adopt the new sociological methods of learning there might indeed be a revolution in educational method! And the adoption is beginning.

Educational sociologists, aware of the possibilities of the sociodrama and its possible variations could be of great influence if they would take two new directions: (1) teach sociology in teacher training institutions by sociodramatic methods, and (2) provide detailed instruction in the sociodrama in educational methods classes.

In addition to all this it may be said that following an extended period of sociodramatic work sociometric measures may be taken and be expected to be valid; with these measures one may determine mathematically the social status achieved by each student among his fellows, the social adjustment of each and the morale of each small group. With these data before one the scientific student of method may re-adjust his class groups to control interaction to increase morale and contribute to the more effective personality development of his students.

<sup>16</sup> Kurt Lewin, "Group Decision and Social Change," in T. M. Newcomb and others, *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), 330-344.

<sup>15</sup> See Alvin Zander and Ronald Lippitt, "Reality Practice as Educational Method," *Sociometry* VII (May, 1944), 129-151.

*New Directions for Research in Educational Sociology and Teaching*

In view of the fact that educational sociologists, by training, are specialists in the organization of society and in social interaction and personality development it would seem that research in educational sociology should be directed toward selecting for the general education program of the schools a balanced curriculum representing the cultures of the groups and societies of community, nations and the world and that this curriculum so selected should be organized into small, but integrated, cultural units designed to facilitate small group learning and the sociodrama where possible. The second step in research would be to develop further scientific sociometric measures to indicate the degree of progress in personality development from time to time and to point the way to adjustments that promise further personality development.

Educational sociologists today stand at the head of a great road of high promise, the road to a practical technology that may contribute vitally to the development of a new kind of education; an education that actually develops citizens who know how to take part and delight in vital social participation and who have developed a truly sympathetic understanding of the emotional feelings of divergent groups, from those of the local community to those of the world.

COMMUNICATION AND OPINION

A NOTE ON THE TERM "RACE"

March 16, 1948.

To the Editor:

There has been, and continues to be, considerable controversy as to the meaning and correct use of the term "Race." Nevertheless, consensus was reached among sociologists and anthropologists over a score of years ago that it is fallacious to confuse race and nation and religion. Yet this egregious error is made by Stephen Sargent Visser in his article "Environmental Backgrounds of Leading American Scientists" in the *American Sociological Review*, 13: 65-72, Feb. 1948. In a section of the article captioned "The Scientists' Racial Stock," Visser designates as "races" "Puritan stock" (following Catell's classification in 1904), "other English stock," German, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, Jews and Dutch.

Clearly Visser, who is professor of Geography at Indiana University, should have known better, particularly in the light of the recent history of racialism. His error is therefore a rude re-

minder of the unfortunate result of the absence of adequate inter-disciplinary exchange of ideas and agreement on nomenclature among social scientists. The lack becomes increasingly serious as geographers, anthropologists, social psychologists, economists and historians are now undertaking research previously regarded as the prerogative of sociologists.

There is another issue involved here. I have no wish to harass the editor of the *Review*, for I am cognizant of the efforts (much of it unrewarding) that he is obliged to expend in getting out the magazine. However, is it not his function to screen out errors of this type? Unfortunately, the use of the term race as synonymous with nation and religion in the official journal of the American Sociological Society might well give considerable sanction for such practice to the uninformed. Moreover, perhaps the editor's request for a revision of the article, when it was first submitted to him, might have been on time to prevent the verbatim publication of this material in the author's book, *Scientists Starred, 1903-1943 in "American Men of Science"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1947), pp. 102-103.

BERNHARD J. STERN

Columbia University

CONCERNING MEMBERSHIP IN THE  
GERMAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY:  
A LETTER TO DR. INFELD

Northville, Michigan  
April 9, 1948

Dr. Henrik F. Infeld  
Van Wagner Road, R.D. 1  
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

DEAR DR. INFELD:

Your letter in the February 1948 *American Sociological Review* (pp. 97-98) disturbs me. When I received a similar invitation from Professor von Wiese to become a corresponding member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie, I was glad to accept it without qualification. I did so because I am reasonably certain that the members of that society are likely to have as high scientific ideals and as high a resolve to serve them as one is likely to find among the members of any sociological society.

Your letter disturbs me for this reason: We are all aware of the devastation precipitated by the Nazis and their counterparts in Germany, Italy, Spain, and elsewhere. Professor von Wiese does not need to be reminded of the horrors he and his associates have seen at such close

hand, and I need not dwell on them further here. The case you describe is certainly adequate. But what disturbs me in your letter is the impression of chauvinism it gives.

As a well-trained sociologist, you would readily agree that Germany—the Germany of Goethe, Heine, Simmel, Weber, and all the rest and also of Hitler—has no more of a monopoly on what it takes to produce viciousness than on what it takes to produce some of the world's greatest artists and scientists.

What did we Americans do to counteract the rise of Nazism and its related ideologies in German-allied countries? We invented the crime of "premature anti-fascism" with which to dog those who saw too early and too clearly what Hitler and his gangsters were about. We are now supporting aristocratic and other authoritarian regimes in a number of countries because of our own anti-Communist hysteria. I will admit that in recent years we have not treated American Negroes in as spectacularly vicious a manner as the Nazis treated those they persecuted, especially the Jews, but a young American Negro can still say in a recent *Commentary* (5: 170), "I can conceive of no Negro native to this country who has not, by the age of puberty, been irreparably scarred by the conditions of his life. All over Harlem, Negro boys and girls are growing into stunted maturity, trying desperately to find a place to stand; and the wonder is not that so many are ruined but that so many survive." Surely, too, the infamous memories of Nagasaki and Hiroshima and also of the guilt-by-heredity of the American-Japanese still haunt us, regardless of the saccharine rationalizations with which we now officially and very piously excuse these deeds.

What are we American sociologists doing to combat the current hysteria that is hush-hushing all deviant intellectual discussion in this country? What are we doing to combat another wave of fascism such as swept so many "buffer states against Communism" after World War I?

In my estimation, in all humility we should be more than willing to welcome any colleagues who wish to work with us in any of the countries in the world. I just wish that it were practical to have one international sociological society which could function and have frequent conferences of an international and sectional nature throughout the world—with broad attendance.

In your letter you expressed a willingness to work with the reorganized German society, and I am glad that you too feel this way. I am just

sorry that you give an impression of American self-righteousness.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

*Revista de Ciencia Aplicada* is a new journal published in Madrid. Its director is José Casteñeda.

*The Committee on Human Reproduction of the National Research Council*, acting for the National Committee on Maternal Health, Inc., announces that it will entertain applications for grants for research in the field of reproduction. Applications to become effective October 1, 1948 will be received until August 1, 1948.

The Committee will consider support of biological, clinical, economic, medical, psychological and sociological research dealing broadly with the field of human reproduction in general and with respect to specific problems including maternal and fetal physiology, the factors controlling conception, the physiology of fertilization and conception, and sterility. For the year 1948-49, the Committee will place specific emphasis upon investigations of the factors controlling conception, fertility and sterility, but other fields of endeavor will be supported if projects of special significance are presented. In subsequent years, changing emphasis may be anticipated.

The National Committee on Maternal Health has advised the National Research Council that it proposes to solicit funds to finance the program of research recommended by the Committee on Human Reproduction to an amount of approximately \$200,000 for 1948-49.

Communications regarding grants should be addressed to Committee on Human Reproduction, National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington 25, D.C.

**Department of State.** The Fulbright Act (Public Law No. 584) authorizes the Department of State to use a portion of the foreign currencies resulting from the sale of surplus property abroad for educational activities with foreign countries.

At present agreements have been signed with only two countries—China and Burma; but negotiations are in progress with the following: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Egypt, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Iran, Italy, the Netherlands, the Netherlands East Indies, New Zealand, Norway, the Philippines, Siam, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and it is expected that other countries may be added to the list.

Since the money is available only in foreign currencies, individual arrangements must be made by each American participating in the program for such dollar balances as he will require to meet his family needs and other obligations in the United States during the period of his absence abroad.



While the term educational activities may be interpreted very broadly, the following amplification will serve as a more useful guide to the types of activities envisaged:

Aid in international reconstruction by assisting foreign countries to secure the services of Americans with specialized knowledges and skills and to assist the peoples of these countries to understand the American people, their achievements and their ideals.

Provision for Americans to study, teach, and conduct research abroad in connection with American schools or with institutions of higher learning, and to add to the store of knowledge of foreign areas, peoples and cultures.

Opportunities for a limited number of foreign students to study in American institutions abroad and to assist foreign students and teachers to engage in educational activities in the United States by paying for their transportation wherever foreign currencies can be used for this purpose.

Under the terms of the Fulbright Act, a Board of Foreign Scholarships is charged with the responsibility of selecting individuals and institutions which will participate under the act and with the supervision of the exchange program. The Board is composed of individuals representing a wide range of educational and cultural interests in addition to representatives of the government agencies most concerned.

The Board has delegated responsibility for preliminary screening of applicants for grants to:

The Institute of International Education for those wishing to study in foreign institutions, primarily at the graduate level;

The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils for those wishing to teach, lecture or offer technical instruction in connection with institutions of higher learning or to pursue studies and research abroad at the post-doctoral level.

For discharging its part of the responsibility, the Conference Board has established a Committee on International Exchange of Persons with offices at the National Academy of Sciences Building, Washington, D.C. All inquiries concerning the exchange of professors, lecturers, specialists and research scholars at the post-doctoral level, should be addressed to:

The Executive Secretary,

Committee on International Exchange of Persons,  
Conference Board of Associated Research Councils,

2101 Constitution Avenue,  
Washington 25, D.C.

Inquiries relating to graduate student exchanges should be addressed to:

Institute of International Education,  
2 West 45th Street,  
New York 19, N.Y.

Inquiries relating to exchanges other than those concerned with the Fulbright Act should be addressed to:

The Division of International Exchange of Persons,  
Department of State,  
Washington 25, D.C.

*The Philosophy of Science Association* has been reorganized with Philipp Frank of Harvard University as President; C. West Churchman of Wayne University, Detroit, as Secretary-Treasurer.

The following are members of the Governing Committee: Gustav Bergmann, State University of Iowa; Thomas A. Cowan, Wayne University; Clyde Kluckhohn, Harvard University; Sebastian Littauer, Columbia University; F. S. C. Northrop, Yale University.

The official journal of the Association is the *Philosophy of Science* of which Professor C. West Churchman is Acting Editor. Manuscripts should be sent to the Acting Editor.

Applications for membership may be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer. Dues are \$5.00 a year.

The Association encourages the establishment of local groups in the philosophy of science.

*Social Science Research Council.* Dr. Pendleton Herring has been appointed president of the Social Science Research Council. Dr. Herring succeeds Dr. Donald Young who has been named general director of the Russell Sage Foundation. A former faculty member of Harvard University, Dr. Herring has been an officer of the Carnegie Corporation of New York since 1946. He was loaned by the Corporation to serve as secretary of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in preparing the first report on atomic energy control submitted to the Security Council. He is currently a consultant to the Department of Defense and also serves on the Advisory Committee on Military History as well as on the Navy's Advisory Panel on Human Relations.

*Ohio Valley Sociological Society.* The tenth annual meeting was held April 23-24 at Columbus. Dr. Perry P. Denuene gave the presidential address, "Some Aspects of the Relation of Sociology to Religion." In addition to sessions given over to individual papers, there was a panel discussion on College Community Relations.

*The Southern Sociological Society* held its eleventh annual meeting on April 16-17, 1948, at the Andrew Johnson Hotel, Knoxville, Tennessee. Membership for 1947-1948 was 290, largest in the Society's history. An excellent program arranged by President Coyle E. Moore of Florida State University included the following sections: The Sociology of the South, Teaching of Sociology, Social Work and Public Welfare, Urban Problems of the South, Research, Marriage and the Family, and a section of contributed papers by graduate students. As a special feature of the program two past presidents addressed the Society. Professor Wilson Gee, University of Vir-

ginia, spoke on *The Changing Southern Scene*. Professor T. Lynn Smith, Vanderbilt University, spoke on *Agricultural Systems and the Standard of Living*.

The officers of the Society for 1948-1949 are: President: Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University. First Vice-President: Raymond F. Bellamy, Florida State University. Second Vice-President: Harry Best, University of Kentucky. Secretary-Treasurer: Morton King, Jr., University of Mississippi. Representative to the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society: H. C. Brearley, George Peabody College for Teachers. Elected members of the Executive Committee: Belle Boone Beard, Sweetbriar College; Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College; Charles G. Gommilion, Tuskegee Institute; Roy E. Hyde, Southeastern Louisiana College; Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky; Lorin A. Thompson, University of Virginia. Past Presidents on Executive Committee: Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky; Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Coyle E. Moore, Florida State University; T. Lynn Smith, Vanderbilt University.

*The Southwestern Sociological Society* met at the Y.M.C.A. in Dallas, Texas, March 27-28, 1948. Some fifteen papers were read by members of the Society.

The officers elected at the business meeting are as follows: President: Mattie Lloyd Wooten, Texas State College for Women, Denton, Texas; Vice-President: Harry E. Moore, University of Texas, Austin, Texas; Secretary-Treasurer: Ross Compton, North Texas State College, Denton, Texas; Elected Executive Committee Members: Kenneth Evans and R. H. Bolyard; Ex-officio Executive Committee Members: Joseph Duflo, West Texas State College, Canyon, Texas, and Austin Porterfield, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas; Cooperating Editor: J. L. Charlton.

*Michigan State College.* The Department of Sociology and Anthropology has available a number of graduate research assistantships which permit the students to carry a full academic load for the academic year 1948-49. The stipend for half-time graduate research assistants who have the Master's degree or its equivalent and are candidates for the Doctor's degree is \$1,000.00 per academic year. For students who have completed less than 45 credits of graduate work toward an advanced degree the stipend for a research assistantship is \$800.00. Teaching assistantships which require a limited academic load pay \$200.00 more per year. In addition, several assistantships are available for use in research commitments in Latin America. Fellowships and part-time research employment in the Agricultural Experiment Station or Social Research Service are also available. Inquiry about assistantships and application forms should be directed to Dr. Charles P. Loomis, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan.

Dr. Allan Beegle prepared two research bulletins

which have been published by the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, they are: "Michigan Population-Composition and Change" (Special Bulletin No. 342) and "Differential Birth Rates in Michigan" (Special Bulletin No. 346).

Dr. D. L. Gibson has prepared a report dealing with membership relations of Michigan Farmers' Cooperatives entitled "Co-ops as the Farmer Sees Them." This study was made by the Social Research Service upon the request of the Michigan Association of Farmer Cooperatives.

*Stanford University* has established a new Department of Anthropology and Sociology in the School of Social Sciences. Dr. Felix M. Keesing, an anthropologist has been named to head the department. The sub-department of sociology has until now been under Economics. Its members—Dr. LaPiere, Reynolds, Wallin and Reuter—became members of the new department.

*Syracuse University.* David B. Stout, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, will travel this summer to Sweden, under auspices of the Viking Fund, to reestablish and increase active collaboration between Swedish and American anthropology, with activities centering on the exchange of students and researchers and the possible development of joint research programs. He will also attend the Third International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, to be held in Brussels in August.

*Temple University.* Professor Negley K. Teeters will publish this year a survey of the proceedings of the eleven international Penal and Penitentiary Congresses. This work will be partially financed by the International Penitentiary Commission.

Mr. Jacob Gruber has joined the Department of Sociology and is teaching the courses in Anthropology.

Professor Claude C. Bowman has completed the second series of 25 lectures in Graduate Training Program in Neuropsychiatry which is conducted by the Veterans Administration under the auspices of the medical schools in the Philadelphia area. The lectures began in October, 1946, with a series on General Sociology Applied to Problems of Psychiatry. The second series beginning in October, 1947, dealt with the Sociology of the Family.

*The University of Chicago.* The Eighth Conference for Teachers of the Social Sciences in Secondary Schools and Junior Colleges will be held July 21, 22, and 23. The theme, "Teaching the Social Sciences," will be developed through a series of closely related lecture-discussion meetings. In each of the six sessions the theoretical and practical aspects of the teaching of the social sciences will be treated. Associate Professor Earl S. Johnson will discuss the theoretical aspects. His statements will be followed by a complementary development of the practical application of theory by persons teaching at the secondary and junior college levels of instruction.

There is no registration fee for the conference. Teachers, curriculum directors and supervisors, and school administrators are cordially invited to attend. Copies of the program may be secured by addressing Earl S. Johnson, 1126 East Fifty-ninth Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

**University of North Carolina.** Dr. Audrey I. Richards, well known anthropologist of the London School of Economics, will give two graduate courses on anthropology in the second summer session at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, beginning July 22. They are entitled "Recent Developments in British Anthropology" and "Applied Anthropology in the British Colonies." Students wishing to register for Dr. Richards' courses should apply to the Director of the Summer Session, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

**University of Pennsylvania.** Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of California, has accepted a Professorship in Sociology, and will assume her duties at the beginning of the Fall Term, 1948.

Dr. Althea Kratz Hottel, Dean of Women, President of the A.A.U.W. and Lecturer in Sociology, was the recipient recently of the Gimbel Award, given annually to a Philadelphia woman who has rendered outstanding service to the community. A stipend of one thousand dollars accompanied the award.

**University of Southern California.** Dr. Emory S. Bogardus is continuing his studies on social distance, using experimental and control groups. Some of the results have been recently published in the *International Journal of Opinion and Research, Sociometry, and Sociology and Social Research*. Dr. Harvey J. Locke is the current director of the Sociological Research Laboratory.

**University of Wisconsin.** William Sewell has returned from Puerto Rico where he was for a month

Visiting Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Puerto Rico. While there he served as consultant to the Agricultural Experiment Station assisting in the establishment of a program of research in Rural Sociology.

John Useem is now on Palau and Yap in the South Pacific making a study of native social organization. The study is part of the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology under the auspices of the National Research Council using funds from the Navy Department and Viking Fund. Assisting Useem are Arthur Vidich, Francis Mahoney, Robert Ritzenthaler and Harry Uyehara.

George Hill has been appointed by the Governor as Chairman of the Wisconsin Commission on Displaced Persons. He will conduct a study of possible placement of such persons in Wisconsin.

**Wayne University.** The Wayne University Sociological Society, under the faculty sponsorship of Norman D. Humphrey and Prof. Donald C. Marsh, recently held three weekly panel discussions on "Occupational Opportunities Through Sociology." The contribution of sociology to industrial relations and personnel management, social work and community planning, publicity and community relations, was explored by experts in those fields.

Dr. Carl Butts and Mr. Frank Hartung took part in the symposium on "What Natural Science Needs from Social Science" at the annual A.A.A.S. meeting in December, 1947, in Chicago. Mr. Hartung has also been appointed book review editor of the journal *Philosophy of Science*, the organ of the Philosophy of Science Association. Mr. Donald C. Marsh has been appointed to the advisory board of the Bulletin of the Institute of Experimental Method, a national organization of scientists interested in the furtherance of the scientific method.

Dr. Norman D. Humphrey has accepted a summer teaching appointment at Michigan State College, while Mr. Harold Sheppard will teach at the University of California at Los Angeles.

## BOOK REVIEWS



*Freud: On War, Sex and Neurosis.* Edited by SANDER KATZ. New York: Arts & Science Press, 1947. 288 pp. \$3.00.

*Sigmund Freud: An Introduction.* By WALTER HOLLITSCHER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. viii, 119 pp. \$2.50.

*Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences.* Edited by GÉZA RÓHEIM. New York: International Universities Press. 427 pp. \$7.50.

We are often told that history does not repeat itself, but oldsters with a good ear for music continually hear in the currently popular tunes familiar rhythms and melodic lines, and scholars with long memories and an eye for the essence of things occasionally observe in a current intellectual controversy a curious resemblance to one that came up and was settled way back when. This reviewer, at any event, watches and sometimes samples the increasing flood of books on psychoanalysis with the feeling that this is where he came in. For back in those days, too, the world was struggling wearily from the wreckage of a great war, the United States was dissipating its wealth in the hope that it could purchase an enduring peace, and the alien gospel of Freud was spreading throughout the land. A large segment of the sociological fraternity came to accept it and thereby was forced to give up hope for the future of mankind. For the new gospel held that the instincts of man that they had previously believed to be the basis of social life were actually bestial, presocial drives that had to be repressed by society. Thus there would always be an inescapable opposition between the individual and society.

Eventually sociology awakened from this Freudian nightmare, but another war and a quarter-century later we find psychoanalysis again endangering the scientific development of our discipline. The three books here under review, different though they are from one another, are fairly representative of the current psychoanalytic proselyting. All three are strictly orthodox and do not reflect any of the doubts or dilution of dogma with fact that are to be found in the writings of such neo-Freudians as Kardiner and Horney. The Master expounds his

dogma; Hollitscher draws his views directly from the Master's mouth; and Róheim proclaims himself the Master's prophet.

*Freud: On War, Sex and Neurosis* consists of nine scattered essays that will neither add to nor detract from Freud's reputation. Their publication in one volume will no doubt be welcomed with prayerful thanks by all true believers. Others can pass up the event without regrets. In a chaotic preface Paul Goodman seems to say that Freud was above all else a man of letters.

In *Sigmund Freud* Walter Hollitscher, on the other hand, presents the Master as above all else a man of science. Hollitscher takes as his particular problem that of showing sociologists (and social psychologists—he uses the terms indiscriminately) why they must use Freudian concepts and how they can do so. The essence of his argument is that these concepts provide the only workable explanation of the mechanisms of social behavior. He does not contend, however, as do so many of the orthodox, that the Freudian concepts are explanations of social life itself; i.e., he does not contend that social phenomena are simply collective manifestations of individual psychic entities. *Sigmund Freud* is, in fact, a charmingly modest presentation of a very firmly held belief. It is also short, a rare and commendable performance, especially for a psychoanalyst. The book itself consists of brief and clear introductory and concluding statements by the author, separated by what the author terms "pure Freud"—extracts from Freud's own writings which are woven together to indicate the meanings of some of his basic concepts. The whole thing reads well and makes good Freudian sense. It suffers also from the fact that Hollitscher apparently knows very little about American sociology and nothing at all about American social psychology.

*Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* is a collection of articles, mostly by non-social scientists, on such varied topics as "Psychoanalytical Approaches to the Japanese Character" and "Psychoanalysis in Literature and its Therapeutic Value," with a lengthy introduction by the editor, Géza Róheim. The book purports to be the first volume in a series of annuals, and



it may be hoped that in this case the first will be the last. The only article that could possibly interest sociologists is one by Clyde Kluckhohn on "Some Aspects of Navaho Infancy and Early Childhood," which should not be confused with the company it keeps.

The introduction by the editor, "Psychoanalysis and Anthropology," is, however, worth a few words of comment. Indeed, it screams for some comment. Róheim, insists Róheim, is the only, the true prophet. In this essay he fairly throws psychoanalysis at anthropology (he also threatens to do the same for sociology in the next annual; Freud forbid!). He grants that some psychoanalysts, such as Kardiner, have attempted to bring the benefits of the gospel to anthropology. But, he contends, those who have are not very good Freudians; they have, for shame, debased Freud in order to make his dogmas palatable to unbelievers. And, anyway, whatever they may have accomplished had already been better done by Róheim. Kardiner's "basic personality" idea, for example, was originated by—well, by Róheim, of course. Róheim grants also that some anthropologists have played around with Freudian concepts. That man Malinowski, for instance. And Benedict and Mead. But of course they could not get very far because they had not been confirmed in the faith. And so it remains for Róheim, the only, the true prophet and the great anthropologist to do what no other can.

In actual fact Róheim puts Freud's worst foot forward and in the process violates every canon of good taste. His essay is inconsequent and ill-tempered, and if one wants to get psychoanalytic about it, one might say that it is an excellent example of misplaced aggression. Perhaps Róheim needs a dose of his own medicine.

Anyone who has labored through and reported on three such books as the foregoing should be entitled to say a few words on his own. To begin with, this reviewer has no doubts regarding the therapeutic value of psychoanalysis. "Mental" healing is an ancient art and like all arts takes many forms, the efficacy of the form depending upon time and place. In our time and place psychoanalysis is evidently one of the best of the various modes of mental healing currently available. But psychoanalysis is not a science, nor does it so far show signs of being even the beginnings of a science; it has about as much justification for scientific pretensions as Christian Science.

This reviewer has been told before, and Róheim tells him again ("Nobody can really understand what it [psychoanalysis] is all about

without having been analyzed." p. 32), that he cannot possibly understand and therefore cannot intelligently criticize psychoanalysis since he has not been inducted into the mysteries of the cult. Yet he has found it entirely possible to comprehend and reject the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas although he has never been accepted into the Church. And he is of the fixed opinion that if one must believe in a system of interpretation before one can test it against reality, that system is necessarily contrascientific.

In actuality it is the very contrascientific nature of psychoanalysis that gives it its therapeutic value. The inferences, postulates, and hypotheses by which the psychoanalyst interprets the difficulties of his patients give him confidence in his powers and inspire his patients to confidence in him. These constructs constitute a system of magic whereby the demons that hound the mentally distressed may be exorcised. Therapeutically it does not matter that this system is "untrue"; what matters is that it appears to be true, comprehensible, and, above all, final and absolute. Doubt, the doubt inherent in every scientific quest, destroys faith; and without faith there can be no mental healing.

The efforts of such psychoanalysts as Kardiner and Horney to reinterpret psychoanalytic concepts in terms of the more obvious facts of social life may have some significance for anthropology, sociology, and social psychology. If so, it will not be because these refugees from orthodox Freudianism will provide us with a workable, neo-Freudian system of interpreting social phenomena; but rather because in endeavoring to do so they may move over into the orbit of the social sciences, bringing with them their unquestioned abilities and leaving behind their Freudian preconceptions.

The danger of the current vogue for introducing psychoanalytic theorizing into sociology and social psychology is not so much that such theorizing distracts, distresses, and deludes those sociologists and social psychologists who become enamored of it, as that it leads to a distortion of the facts of social life. The psychoanalytic system is necessarily rigid and, in the main, complete. When social facts do not fit into the interpretative system, the orthodox Freudian changes, not the system, but the facts themselves. An excellent illustration, because it is so clear-cut, of this characteristic reversal of the normal scientific procedure is provided by the way in which Grinker's and Spiegel's data on war neuroses led to the positing of family back-

ground circumstances that are pure fiction. The problem was, it will be recalled, why there occurred in World War II a shift from the hysterical blindness, paralysis, etc., of the preceding war to a heavy reliance on psychosomatic disorder of the digestive tract, principally ulcers. In the psychoanalytic view this shift in symptoms could be explained only by an antecedent shift in the origin of the neuroses, namely, in the status conditions of family life. Therefore there was invented out of the whole cloth a "generation of vipers," to use Philip Wylie's dramatic term. Thus the soldiers of World War I were presumed to have been brought up in one *kind* of family milieu and those of World War II in quite another. In this latter milieu Dear Mom played a role unique in the history of the American family: she emotionally exploited her son, keeping him tied to her apron strings. Sociological nonsense of this sort inevitably results when any attempt is made to use psychoanalytic concepts as scientific tools, and it is just such nonsense that is the chief danger to sociology in the current psychoanalytic vogue. We have no social instincts to lose this time; but we do have what is far more precious—a hard-won collection of social facts.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

*Mutual Survival: The Goal of Unions and Management.* By E. WIGHT BAKKE. New York: Harper and Bros., 1946. Pp. ix + 82. \$1.50.

*Patterns of Union-Management Relations.* By FREDERICK H. HARBISON and ROBERT DUBIN. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1947. Pp. 229. \$3.75.

*Human Leadership in Industry: The Challenge of Tomorrow.* By SAM A. LEWISOHN. New York: Harper and Bros., 1945. Pp. 112. \$2.00.

These three books represent as many approaches to the field of industrial relations. Yet all three bear witness to the growing concern about industrial relations, at least in scholarly and literary circles, and to the elementary fact that new institutions are in the process of development along lines that are not yet determinate.

Professor Bakke's slight book develops the single point indicated in the title. Based upon interviews with managers and union leaders across the country, and indeed largely made up of classified quotations, the book touches on many questions of "principle" over which cor-

porations and unions come into conflict. The author does not minimize the points of conflict, even if, as he suggests, each side assumes the necessity of the other and operates with an understanding that joint survival is possible and necessary. Nor does the author oversimplify the motivational components represented on either side. He simply asks for each to understand the circumstances and pressures under which the other operates.

Lewisohn, a corporation executive with some apparent success in labor relations as well as relations with stockholders and consumers, implies a view somewhat similar to Bakke's although naturally phrased primarily from the manager's viewpoint. It is Lewisohn's position that managers have too largely neglected labor relations, and that this shortcoming is especially evident in the limited training of engineers who are placed in executive positions. The author recognizes, and does not like, the increasing voice of the union in "managerial" decisions. One gathers that he would agree with Professor Bakke that each should understand the problems of the other, but neither book presents either a reasoned case for barring change of the industrial power structure, or an indication of how the issue is to be settled if good will and mutual survival at a given status quo do not suffice.

In terms of contribution to social science, by far the weightiest of these books is the research monograph written by Professor Harbison and Dubin. The central portion of the book presents a detailed comparison between management-union relations in General Motors on the one hand and in Studebaker on the other. The union (United Automobile Workers) is, of course, common to both, but with considerable local autonomy so that the common policy cannot be assumed to be much greater than that arising in the two corporations from the fact that they are engaged in approximately the same industrial operations.

Several facts of fundamental importance emerge from the Harbison and Dubin study. As is well known, the general tenor of collective relations between General Motors and the UAW has been "difficult," while in Studebaker it has been "easy." This study makes it clear that part of the success at Studebaker has been the result of the determination of policies, wages, and the like in bargaining at General Motors. Moreover, there is the clear implication, drawn by the authors, that the hard line taken by GM officials is only partly a matter of the recalcitrant views of its managers, and that the cooperative

line followed at Studebaker reflects in part the advantage of following patterns laid down elsewhere. The authors make this thesis explicit by distinguishing the nature of collective bargaining in the "power centers" of the mass-production industries, which "generate patterns," from that prevailing in lesser centers.

The authors face squarely the central issue of the scope of collective bargaining and allocation of industrial control—the issue Bakke and Lewisohn seem to sidestep. Harbison and Dubin state clearly the broader institutional implications of management-union relations in the power centers, and spell out the dangers to unrepresented but interested members of the public that arise from both continuous conflict and close collaboration. The authors are therefore somewhat less than sanguine about the possibilities of peace and good will prevailing within the major centers of management-union relations, given the present institutional order. The conclusions, tentatively stated and largely limited to the two principal cases reported, might well receive much further attention than the authors devote to them. Here is an opportunity for good theory and strategic research to make headway.

WILBERT E. MOORE

Princeton University

*The Theory of Social and Economic Organization.* By MAX WEBER. (Translated by A. M. HENDERSON and TALCOTT PARSONS. Edited with an introduction by TALCOTT PARSONS.) New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. 436 pp. \$6.00.

I. One who has tried to translate his own thought into another language soon becomes acquainted with the all but insuperable problems posed by "the meaning of meanings," and one must really produce a creative "work" in translating German thought. The connotation of words often cannot be carried from one context to another since words have a history and these historical meanings are carried between the lines where the translator cannot reach. Talcott Parsons has in this respect made a painstaking effort. It is quite a feat of empathy to circumscribe Sinn (p. 89, 96), Sinn Zusammenhang (p. 95), sinnhafte Aadaequanz (p. 99), Geltung (p. 122), Herrschaft (p. 131, 152), Verband (p. 145), Betrieb (p. 151). In the interest of precision the editor often adds critical remarks to his copious explanations.

Le style c'est l'homme: In the case of Max Weber a literal transcript of ideas seems to be of

special difficulty. Not only are his works composed mainly of fragments, notes, and stenographic copies of formal and informal conversations (which would multiply the difficulties of any style) but his mandarin style is full of complex synchronized ideas, of self-conscious reservations, and cautious qualifying clauses. Sometimes he develops his theme ironically with a profusion of quotation marks, and sometimes he writes pedantically with devious exemptions and a wealth of footnoted digressions. This style—massive, complex and ramified,—reminds one of a baroque edifice.

II. The American reader has now a fairly representative selection of Max Weber's work. The first translation was *The General Economic History* edited by Frank R. Knight, London, 1927. Since it sketches Max Weber's view of a universal economic history, it is certainly much more important for the comprehension of *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* than the chapter of *The Sociology of Religions*: "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," (London, 1930). The two new volumes—*Essays in Sociology* by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 1946, and the present translation by Talcott Parsons—are also supplementary, both being a part of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (Economy and Society)*. Indeed the chapter on "Types of Authority" in the latter properly belongs to the former volume although it was written at an earlier stage.

It must not be thought that these translations are more than fragmentary or that the latest addition fills up the more serious lacunae. Actually it is literally impossible to grasp the character of Max Weber's thought without being able to read his most fundamental essays on social scientific theory in German: his critique of the historical school represented by Roscher and Knies, his critical essay on Stammler's neo-Kantianism, and the two great methodological essays on "The Objectivity of Scientific Knowledge in Social Sciences," and "Some Categories of an Interpretative Sociology." Weber wrote no truly systematic works. He continuously developed and corrected his scientific instruments methodically as aids to his historical analysis. That the editor should have selected parts of *Economy and Society* for his efforts is perhaps to be explained as a desire to develop his own theory, but he presupposes the social scientific theory which his introduction can hardly replace. When the Association of American Law Schools brings forth its announced translation of the chapter, "Sociology of Law," it will become

evident that Weber was primarily interested in the specific juridico-political framework of German economic problems and that the orientation of his *Theory of Social and Economic Organization* is political. Economy is political economy for him and belongs to the "Staatswissenschaft.".

III. Talcott Parsons merely mentions the background of historical tradition in Germany, the historical school and the idealistic trend. But the reader must have a fuller knowledge of these trends to grasp Weber's place in general sociology. Nevertheless, Talcott Parsons is to be heartily congratulated for bringing before the American public his interpretation of Max Weber's economic theory. However, as the series of translations becomes more complete, we must develop an authoritative interpretation. That part of Weber's work which is really enduring has to be marked off from that which is mainly situational and polemical. This aspect of interpretation has been neglected. For example, one must remember that it was Weber's very detailed empirical studies on agrarian and industrial labor and his leading role in the inquiries of the Association for Social Policy that gave him his eminent place in the ranks of the academic social reformers; his studies on Russian Constitutionalism, in the first stage of the Russian Revolution, which are not even included in the six-volume German edition of his works, broadened his views of bureaucracy. He became an expert of planned economy as the issue of socialization in Germany after 1918.

If we recall finally the peculiarly German rift between "Bildung und Masse" we would understand Weber's struggle against the isolation of the German intelligentsia. His really universal erudition prevented him from descending to the level of mediocrity on which political influence could be effective. Although his studies, prepared in ten years of forced leaves of absence from the university can be subsumed under the motto: "savoir pour prévoir," he could never seize an opportunity to enter the political forum as a leader. He wanted to determine a rational social policy, but he could only do this from the vantage point of a critic of the socialist trend. In a country in which political parties are oriented by world views the debunking technique in his politico-economic work was directed against the conceptual realism and absolutism of all political religions. The whole pathos of his thinking is expressed in the term "disenchantment," but with a premonition of the advent of a charismatic leader and an Ersatz-religion. As a

freethinker Weber recognized the authenticity of the religious impact on the politico-economic world, but he disparaged the role of magic. Ascetically denying himself the recognition of his own creative imagination, Max Weber overstressed his belief in rational science. In reality, he reverted to his Protestant heritage, and hence his ethical approach to the problem of religion. He never really considered the socializing processes of ceremonialism and sacerdotalism. It is significant that in all his work he has not analyzed the Roman and Greek orthodox churches.

In his critique of planning Max Weber was well aware that it is not merely the result of peaceful rational orientation. Not only did he trace the effects of religious and quasi-religious attitudes upon it, but he recognized that planning is military as well as civil and demands bureaucratic control. In all countries the exigencies of military bureaucratization necessitated the expedient of a "war-communism." From this point of view he would have explained the recent Russian development. However, it is this communistic experiment which challenges his economic theory and shows the foundation of science not in freedom of thought, but in a relation "ancilla rei publicae."

IV. Gerth-Mills feel justified in holding that a unilinear construction of history is implied in Weber's idea of rationalization measured by the degree to which magical elements of thought are displaced. In my opinion, there are only two indications of a possible historical trend. Although Weber rejects the assumption of any ruse of reason or the Marxist sophistry of false consciousness, he is nonetheless aware of the unintended consequences of social interaction. He shows that in the profanization of the sacred stable social order civilized man does not know more about the rationality of his system than the savage. "Magic action was as purposive-rational for the primitive as our ideal type of rational action for the civilized man." (Some categories of an interpretative sociology p. 409, 449). However, the value-rationality originally produced in the ideas of genius, prophet, or charismatic leader is in its substance consumed and sucked up in the process of institutionalization leaving empty shells. More, the dynamics of ideas and interests is characterized by the routinization of charisma. There is no pre-established correspondence between the ideas and interests; ideas are discredited to serve the material interests of an increased following. Ideas become weapons in workaday life. The



rationalization process is therefore conceived as a process of degradation.

V. Weber turned away from history to sociology. While the historian proceeds by interpreting thoughts and actions as expressions or manifestations of an objective or collective spirit Weber attacked the confusion of generalities and collectivities in his attack against the historical school. To avoid the pitfalls of conceptual realism (*Volksgeist* and *Klassenbewusstsein*) he stressed deliberately the nominalist approach. If one takes Max Weber's introductory notes on methodology at face value one finds references only to subjective states of mind. His method rigorously applied would prohibit the use of structural explanations. "The criteria by which rational types are distinguished are not adequate to describe even a total unit act, to say nothing of a system of action" (T.P. p. 17). The editor points out that Weber diverted attention from the analysis of the relation of parts to a whole under external conditions and replaced it by a different frame of reference, namely that of action—or actor-situation rather than organism-environment. (T.P. p. 19). Speaking of organization instead of organism he did not attempt a physiological approach relating the structure to functional needs. There is nowhere an indication of such pre-historical consideration of man as an animal. The whole concept of functionalism has another meaning. In the discussion with Marx he tried to understand how the whole realm of (religious, ethical, artistic) values is related to and conditioned by the so-called real substratum. Reality is the problem of his functional approach.

Reality, in the common sense, is not given, according to the Kantian philosophy, and so, there must be found a categorical apparatus to seize at least part of reality. Weber's position is clearly dependent on his approach to and later on withdrawal from Rickert. The whole idea of understanding or interpretation is at the bottom of the distinction of natural and cultural sciences. Using generalized types Weber made a step in the direction of bridging the gap. What the editor calls a half-way solution (T.P. p. 11) indicates that Weber never believed in sociology as a natural science. Furthermore, the word empirical, as used in Germany indicates that history is the experimental field for the social sciences. Weber accepted Simmel's individual causality and developed a possible scheme of approximate and adequate general categories. However, the verification of logical constructs is definitely casuistic. He is not

empiristic, but pragmatistic in the explanation of active projects or postulates instead of taking passively observed facts. The practical-technical motive of his rationalizing experiment with types serves his purpose of dominating an indefinite material. There is a certain affinity which delimits the usefulness of the situational and relational categories.

The use of ideal types concentrates attention on extreme or polar types. Because he felt that certain patterns of rationality are adequate to the problems of Western civilization he says that after having constructed a rational ideal type, "it is then possible to introduce the irrational components as accounting for the observed deviations from this hypothetical cause." The antithesis of rational and irrational is due to what T. Parsons called a rationalistic bias.

VI. Max Weber asserted from the beginning that sociology is not concerned exclusively with social action. He recognized that social action is oriented by the relation to the other. The observer taking the place of the actor is one example of understanding in the sense of empathy. Declaring that the actor is in most cases half- or unconscious of the meaning of action opens an introspective approach far beyond the subjective meaning of action. T. Parsons has well brought out the defective treatment of psychological problems and pointed at the probability that Weber's own analysis of value attitudes would apply even better to a system of co-operating roles than it does to economic activities. "This emphasis on the economic rather than the occupational perhaps tends to account for one of Weber's blind spots . . . his failure to bring out the structural peculiarities of the modern professions" (T.P. p. 54) and to differentiate the types of administrative hierarchy. His tendency to stress the coercive aspect of authority is another point of his German outlook. As a whole, *Economy and Society*, fragmentary and unsystematic, is a great human document, but it cannot help us in the development of the much needed social philosophy of our time.

GOTTFRIED SALOMON DELATOUR

Columbia University

*German Theories of the Corporative State.* By RALPH H. BOWEN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947. viii + 243 pp. \$2.75.

This highly competent study brings out the significance of German corporative theories and indicates their applicability in an adapted form to some of our own problems. The principal theories of the nineteenth and the early twen-

tieth century are discussed; and certain trends of a corporative nature in this country are noted.

The corporative state has been characterized as an organization of organizations. The unit of organization commonly emphasized in theory is the vocation or industry. Their internal organization includes both employers and employees and, according to some theories, consumers and distributors as well. All such organizations are to be regarded as organic, but autonomous units of the national state. The welfare of the people as a whole is to be the controlling consideration. This would rule out, for example, the strike and the lockout as methods of settling industrial disputes. Yet all the theories extol self-government in industry, and would reduce to a minimum the intervention of the state in economic matters.

The general conception shared by these theories is that the social group, not the individual as such, offers the only valid basis of economic and political organization. In some theories the "leadership principle" in its authoritarian sense is stressed; in others, equality in group representation is advocated. But all are opposed to democratic systems in which the independent individual is the unit of social action.

Except for isolated experiments none of these theories has been adopted as a basis for action in the land that gave them birth.

SEBA ELDRIDGE

University of Kansas

*Experimental Designs in Sociological Research.*

By F. STUART CHAPIN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947. Pp. x + 206. \$3.00.

This volume is both welcome and disappointing: welcome, because it presents full analyses of a number of sociological studies of the experimental type; disappointing, because we might have hoped that a scholar of Dr. Chapin's caliber would discuss these studies in a broader framework than merely methodological competence.

Chapin agrees with the position of Greenwood in his *Experimental Sociology* that experimental design in sociological research refers to systematic study of human relations by making observations under conditions of control. He devotes himself, however, solely to Greenwood's "simultaneous" studies—those that involve an experimental group and a control group during the same period of time. He does not discuss Greenwood's "successional" experiments. More than half the book is given over to an exposition of nine research projects, five of which were done

by Dr. Chapin's students. In each case the nature of the problem, the methods used, and the results obtained are clearly presented. In addition, Dr. Chapin makes critical comments and raises methodological questions. These tasks are admirably performed, so that the young sociologist is given something to bite into, something on which he can chew with his developing research teeth.

Chapin divides these studies into three types: cross-sectional, projected, and ex post facto. The last two conform to Greenwood's usage: a projected study is one in which the experiment happens after the research design is set up, so that controls can be planned in advance; and ex post facto study relies upon selective control after the events that make up the experiment have occurred. Chapin's cross-sectional type seems to the present reviewer merely what Greenwood would call a cause-to-effect ex post facto study. The examples Chapin analyzes involve, in one instance, the effects of Boy Scout tenure on personal adjustment as measured four years later, and, in the other, the differential effect of direct and work relief as measured after persons had been in these categories an unstated length of time.

Many helpful research hints are dropped during the interpretation and criticism of the various studies. The usefulness of null hypotheses is shown and the procedure for employing them outlined. A most important problem is raised when it is pointed out that the matching of persons in an experimental and a control group makes the total sample more homogeneous than the universe from which they were drawn. The meaning of critical ratios—which are based on random sampling conditions—is thus rendered indeterminate. Another strength is Chapin's frequent mention of the need for replication of experiments, particularly ex post facto ones where randomization cannot be used to control unknown variables. He quite rightly insists that under these conditions an hypothesis cannot be proved by a single study.

A special chapter on the sociometric scales that are available for purposes of control and for the measurement of effects constitutes a useful compendium. In it is included an interesting discussion of the differences between units of observation and units of measurement.

Unfortunately, this volume gives evidence of being a patchwork rather than an integrated effort. The first chapter, for instance, is merely a reprinting of two separate articles, one of them published as long ago as 1917. Many of the

other chapters contain whole articles or large sections of articles previously published. Half of the final chapter is such an article, while half of it is new material. The upshot is that the work as a whole lacks articulation and well-roundedness.

The most serious weakness, however, is not one of composition or arrangement, but of scientific orientation. There is almost no emphasis upon the importance of theory in research. A young student, reading this volume, might be tempted to start working on some such practical question as the effect of religious belief on the selection of one's occupation without ever bothering to find out what relevant theory had already been developed. He might go ahead without benefit of the suggestive hypotheses of Max Weber and Emile Durkheim. In short, he might not be oriented toward a theoretical question at all. Not to make clear to our young scholars that a piece of research is valuable to a science only as it adds to the organum of tested theory seems, in a book of this kind, a serious dereliction.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

*A transformação da lógica conceitual de sociologia.* By MARIO LINS. Rio de Janeiro: Rodrigues & Cia., 1947. 123 pp. No Price Indicated.

This book on "Change in the Logical Foundations of Sociology" reflects the repercussion in Brazil of the movement for the unification of science that in these last decades has gained impetus both in the United States and in Europe.

In the first two chapters, the author attempts to show how Aristotelian logic, which science used to work with, was related to the general tendency in a previously static society to regard all reality as static. This logic is being superseded little by little by a post-Galilean way of thinking. Aristotelian logic would be dependable, were reality entirely static; since, however, reality is at the same time both static and dynamic, it has only limited reference and results in an incomplete, deformed picture of the world.

In the five succeeding chapters, Mario Lins seeks to show the repercussion, especially in Sociology but also in other social sciences, of the "field theory" and the notion of multiple causation. His argumentation is almost entirely of an abstract character, without any direct application to specific problems in Sociology or other fields.

The principal merit of this book for Brazilians is that it constitutes a synthesis of extensive

and careful reading on a complex subject as yet cultivated only by a few scholars in Brazil. Its value for teaching purposes is decreased by the fact that it presupposes a previous acquaintance on the part of the reader with the problems dealt with, in order to follow its argumentation. It contains some parts which are a repetition of other parts, while at times there is needed a more detailed explanation to make the context clear.

The difficulties derived from the nature of the problems dealt with are obvious. At the same time, this book would be more readable, were not its style so impregnated with the flavor of those works in foreign languages upon which it is based. These and other features give the book the character of a work yet to be finished. It is, however, a worth while study both for those readers who have a special interest in the field of Sociology and for those who are interested in science in general.

ORACY NOGUEIRA

*Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo*

*The Social Effects of Aviation.* By WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN, with the assistance of GENE L. ADAMS, and S. C. GILFILLAN. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946. pp. vi + 755. \$5.00.

This book has undoubtedly already been of great value to manufacturers of airplanes, to the executives of air transport companies, and to others interested in the commercial aspects of aviation. To the sociologist, however, it has a much deeper significance as an outstanding example of current achievement in applied sociology, in a field where scientific knowledge is very urgently needed—namely, with respect to the processes of social change, and as related to the question of whether future developments in our society can be foreseen with sufficient reliability to be of significant help to those whose task it is to guide society into the future.

In its method, this volume is the evident product of immense industry, of alert and penetrating intellectual curiosity, of systematic, imaginative exploration of possible developments in a great variety of different directions and fields, and of a rich background of wisdom, accumulated by the author and his associates in the wide variety of inquiries which they have already completed in various aspects of social trends. The author states: "The problem for this book is to tap wide ranges of information and to utilize all the imagination

available. The information over extensive areas may come from libraries, current literature, or from contacts with persons in the various fields." (p. 79). Something of the literature covered is indicated by the ten page bibliography. Chapters deal with the social effects of aviation with respect to Population, The Family, Cities, Religion, Health, Recreation, Crime, Education, Railroads, Ocean Shipping, Manufacturing, Marketing, Mining, Real Estate, Newspapers, Agriculture, Forestry, Stock Raising, Government, Public Administration, International Relations, and International Policies.

Like other aspects of our culture, social science also is subject to progressive development, and this reviewer would like to raise certain questions as to possible directions in which the scientific analysis of social change might evolve toward greater trustworthiness, greater precision, and, therefore, greater usefulness. The very tentative state of our present predictive power is illustrated by the chart on page 119 of this book, entitled "Future Passenger-Miles on United States Domestic Airlines," graphing data from 1930 to 1943. Three different mathematical trends, fitted to these data, are projected to 1953. For the year 1946, Ogburn's logistic curve predicted approximately 3.3 billion *total* passenger miles; his second-degree parabola predicted approximately 2.8 billion; and his straight-line trend predicted approximately 2.4 billion. The actual number of domestic *revenue* passenger miles was 5.9 billion—i.e., about 75 per cent greater than Ogburn's highest forecast.<sup>1</sup> Hindsight now shows us that the growth of domestic air passenger traffic has followed a succession of logistic surges. One of these was from 1936 to 1941, and was evidently related to recovery from the depression, being terminated by war factors. The second was from 1941 to 1947, being related to post-war expansion. (This surge flattened out notably in 1947, according to preliminary data.) Trustworthy prediction here must take account of at least three factors: first, the underlying acceleration; second, the effects of economic booms and depressions; and third, the effects of war. These same three general factors were employed, as early as 1943, in a fairly successful forecast of post-war divorce rates.<sup>2</sup> They have been shown to affect a variety of other social trends.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For data, see *Aviation Week*, Nov. 10, 1947, p. 59, and Dec. 29, 1947, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> "Divorce, Depression, and War," *Social Forces*, 22 (1943) pp. 191-194.

<sup>3</sup> "Depression, War, and Logistic Trends," *The*

If a mature science of social change is to emerge from the empirical and common-sense stage represented by this book, valid underlying principles must be discovered and applied. To achieve this, the following steps might be helpful:

1. Statistical procedures should be used more rigorously, safeguarded by open-minded and critical interpretation. For example, a discriminating use of mathematics might have improved the curve-fitting on pp. 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 30, 88, 99, 119 and 120.

2. When significant experiments are carried out, they should be reported in sufficient detail so that other social scientists may be enabled to tell exactly what was done, to criticize methods employed, and to carry out supplementary researches. Dr. Ogburn, on pp. 39-40, reports a very suggestive experiment in the extrapolation of curves, but he gives no data, and cites no source in which fuller information can be obtained.

3. The established scholarly safeguards, such as stating sources, should be employed. The danger of ignoring these is illustrated by the charts on pages 119 and 138. Each purports to give air passenger miles in the United States, but the labeling is not accurate, no sources are given, and the casual reader has difficulty in finding the reason for the apparent discrepancies between the two charts.

4. Those interested in developing a true science of social change need to criticize each other's work more thoroughly, and to make full use of each other's discoveries. They need also to consult more as to what problems are the most urgently important, and as to how team-work can be more effectively developed, so as to achieve the far swifter progress which is possible in this field.

HORNELL HART

Duke University

*Rebuilding the World Economy: America's Role in Foreign Trade and Investment.* By NORMAN S. BUCHANAN and FRIEDRICH A. LUTZ. New York: The 20th Century Fund, 1947. Pp. xiii, 434. \$3.50.

This timely addition to the 20th Century Fund's growing shelf of studies of contemporary problems follows the usual pattern: an analysis by professionals, in this case two well-known and highly competent economists, and a report with



recommendations by a representative committee under the chairmanship of Winfield Riefler of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

While the reviewer doubts the workability of some of the suggestions made in the analysis and in the committee report, he nonetheless recommends the study highly. It is an unusually clear statement of the causes for the collapse of the world economy, the ideological and practical obstacles to restoring it, and the tremendous spiritual and material stake the United States has in a restored world economy.

Chapter II entitled "The Rise and Decline of the World Economy" is a masterly account in brief space of the forces that knit the world together in the one hundred years after Waterloo and of the new forces that destroyed the integration. Subsequent chapters reveal why the present task of reconstruction is so much more difficult than that confronting the World War I generation. Even more serious than the destruction of capital and the distortion in prices and in structures, are the diversity of objectives and of ideals prevailing in different countries. Gone is the consensus that makes the nineteenth century in retrospect so utopian.

The analysis and the report both regard the reestablishment of multilateral trading as imperative. Professors Buchanan and Lutz, however, have no convincing suggestions for reconciling the trading practices of predominantly free and completely planned economies. The Committee Report regards the reconciliation as impossible and accordingly would have the United States confine its aid to the rehabilitation of countries willing and able to practice multilateral trading. For the same reason the Committee doubts the wisdom of making the International Trade Organization universal.

The authors of the analysis are at great pains to show that national full employment policies make it impossible to go back to the gold standard and to the techniques of the nineteenth century that served so admirably to knit together to their mutual advantage the economies of the great trading countries. They regard such policies as inevitable despite the fact that to date they have rendered fruitful economic international cooperation more difficult, not less difficult. They admit that "the problem here is how to devise the ways and means to maintain national full employment that are consistent with a multilateral trading system in which trade restrictions are at a minimum."

The authors appear to the reviewer to be old fashioned liberals who, despite their lip service

to the new economics, don't really believe in the complicated provisions in the international monetary fund and in the proposed international trade charter for allowing countries to insulate their programs from foreign depression influences. They appear to pin their hopes on the willingness of the United States to lower and stabilize tariffs and accept a continuing substantial adverse balance of trade. Let us pray that their hope will be justified.

Quite frankly the reviewer is skeptical for the simple reason that so much of what passes as planning is inspired by old fashioned protectionist sentiment. It widens rather than reduces the areas of friction between nations. It tends to build into national economy more of the distorting rigidities which brought on two world wars in a single generation. What is needed is less, not more nationalism. It is disturbing to note that at the very time when political theories emphasize the imperative need of reducing national sovereignty the new economics discredits the gold standard which contributed so much to the limitation of national economic sovereignty. It is for this reason, among others, that the reviewer feels that the reestablishment of the gold standard is essential to rebuilding the world economy.

J. V. VAN SICKLE

Wabash College

*Postwar Problems of Migration.* Papers Presented at the Round Table on Population Problems, 1946 Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund, October 29-30, 1946. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1947. 173 pp. \$1.00.

This volume contains eleven papers on various aspects of postwar migration in the world at large and in the United States by competent students of population. The first four papers are concerned with migration problems of the world, or rather of selected parts of the world wherein such problems are known to be acute. They treat migration trends and population pressures in Monsoon Asia (Irene B. Taeuber), the capacity and the inclination of Latin America to absorb immigrants (Kingsley Davis), the patterns and prospects of European migration (Dudley Kirk), and recent developments in the international control of migration (Carter Goodrich). The discussions are necessarily confined to salient features of the several problems, which, of course, is sufficient for the purposes of round table treatment. It is unfortunate, however, that the world is not more adequately covered. The omission of Russia is perhaps understandable.

But India and Oceania do not lie behind the iron curtain. Africa might also have been considered, along with Latin America, as a possible outlet for displaced persons and surplus populations.

The three papers comprising section two are devoted to an analysis of the present status of immigration laws in the United States (E. P. Hutchinson), the demographic and economic implications of immigration (W. S. Thompson), and experience with European refugees in America (Maurice R. Davie). The first and third of these summarize information on the respective subjects, while that by Thompson contains a provocative examination of a problem upon which virtually no knowledge has accumulated.

Part three is concerned with internal migration in the United States. Included are essays on rural-urban migration (Conrad Taeuber), wartime shifts of the civilian population (Henry S. Shryock, Jr.), problems of Negro migration (Ira De A. Reid), and projections of urban growth (Philip M. Hauser and Hope T. Eldridge). These papers reduce a vast amount of data to simple terms and attempt to determine what indications of future trends are contained in recent migration experience. Persons interested in methods of forecasting the population of small areas will wish to inspect that employed by Hauser and Eldridge.

In short, the volume is a highly useful handbook of up-to-date information on the problems of migration confronting a large part of the world at the present time. The Milbank Memorial Fund has performed a valuable service in making the materials generally available. It is to be hoped that the book finds its way into the hands of a wide public.

AMOS H. HAWLEY

*University of Michigan*

*Chinese Family and Society.* By OLGA LANG. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1946. 395 pp. \$4.00 (cloth).

This important study of the *Chinese Family and Society* was published under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations and of the Institute of Social Research of Columbia University. The author, Olga Lang, took the hard way, but the only one adequate for her task. Not only did she live in China long enough to write and speak the language, and to gain a deep understanding of the people, but she was there during a time of great stress, after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, and just prior to the

Japanese invasion. She could, therefore, witness the process of social change first-hand. Her major concern is with the Chinese family, not as a fixed thing from time immemorial, but as an institution that is intricately related to the total structure of Chinese society, and changing with alterations in that structure. Thus, there was one pattern of family organization in prehistoric times, still other types under early and late feudalism, and yet another more or less stable family system in the two thousand years of the imperial regime which came to an end in 1911. To be sure, there were continuities throughout this long history, but the author appears to focus attention on the changes that occurred and their bearing on the family.

At this point a word may be said concerning the varied sources of material used by the author. They were 4,000 case records of the Social Service Department of the Peiping Union Medical College Hospital; over 600 interviews with representatives of different social classes in Peiping and other Chinese cities, both large and small; 1,700 questionnaires filled out by college and high school students in North, South and Central China, and a field survey of the life of 26 clans in two provinces. It is evident therefore, that the data were not limited geographically, nor to any one social class. In addition to the field work the volume reflects wide knowledge of modern research studies of Chinese life and family as made by Chinese or foreign students. Finally, a rich source of material was found in Chinese realistic fiction written in both classical and modern times. Quotations from these literary sources are among the most vivid and entertaining parts of the book.

With such resources the author in Part I elaborates upon the family system of "Old China," as laid down by Confucius in the late feudal period, and crystallized under the bureaucracy of the empire. The discussion here covers the structure and functions of the family; its relation to the land; ancestor worship; the role of the clan; intra-family relationships; love, marriage and divorce; the position of women; concubinage; and the relation of the family to the wider society. Though Confucius had laid emphasis upon one's duty to the state, as things developed this became subordinate to the principle of one's duty to the family. Such an outcome was destined to weaken the state, though, paradoxically, the stability of the family system must have been an element in the survival of China throughout her long tortuous history.

Part II of the volume turns to contemporary

China and the changes that are being effected in her way of life, both in the larger society and in its correlate—the family. Such changes are attributed in familiar terms to the impact of industrialism, urbanism, and new ideological principles that have arisen through contacts with the culture of the West. But these influences are not uniformly distributed, either as to regions or among the social classes. As might be expected, the carriers of the new culture are chiefly the youth of the educated classes. The general trend is away from familism and toward a more individualized type of social behavior with more emphasis upon one's responsibilities to the state and community. Diminished or disappearing elements in the culture are to be seen in the declines of family loyalty, nepotism, the subordination of women, and concubinage. In urban areas the conjugal replaces the joint family; and both the education of women and their industrial opportunity make for their equality in status. Above all, frustrations are removed from the romantic impulse!

Naturally, such profound changes lead to much confusion. To the emotional stress occasioned by them has been added the physical horrors of war. But the author concludes on a note of restrained optimism, largely because the nation has survived the turmoils of her long past. One can only hope that she is right.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD

*University of Michigan*

✓ *Caste, Class, and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics.* By OLIVER CROMWELL COX. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1948. xxxviii, 624 pp. \$7.50.

Professor Cox believes that "there is no single hypothesis which serves to explain the functioning of caste, class and racial systems" (p. x), and that "there is available no consistent theory of race relations" (p. ix). He points out that "caste, class and race are social concepts widely employed in discussions of current social problems, and yet . . . these terms have been used promiscuously and interchangeably, with the result that the literature on the subject is exceedingly involved. Among these involvements two seem to stand out: that between caste and race relations, and that between social class and political class" (p. ix). When the reader has turned the last page of this provocative book he is sure that the author has not only critically examined some of these racial shibboleths but also contributed to possible solutions in the field of race relations.

The book is divided into three parts, as the title suggests. Part I examines the nature and origin of caste, since the race-caste assumption is a popular theory in one modern school of race relations. The author assumes that a caste system exists only in India (p. 3). It constitutes a type of society; its keynote is social inequality (p. 14). It "provides for the ordering of groups in society" (p. 6). Caste is generally considered to consist of fixed social positions. However, Professor Cox shows that "some movement is not only possible but also inevitable. Movement may be both individual or by the caste as a whole, vertically or laterally within the system. Individual mobility, however, is rarer and more difficult" (p. 7). It is refreshing to have this dynamic treatment of caste in contrast to the many static analyses that are available in the literature.

"Caste is the 'bedrock' of Hindu life" (p. 21). It is thoroughly intermeshed with the culture patterns and makes the caste system sacrosanct, so that "the caste system is supported by a system of religious beliefs" (p. 45).

It is a popular notion that caste makes occupational mobility impossible, but the author shows that "a caste may follow an occupation other than its traditional one" (p. 62). Circumstances may prevent a caste from being able to live by its hereditary work. "Occupational mobility is collective rather than individual" (p. 68).

The author does not put much stock in the pure-blood theory for the origin of caste in Aryan racial antipathy. He believes such a theory is inferred from "a type of race relations with which we are not familiar among whites and people of color" (p. 84). He finds the theories of the origin of caste that have a cultural explanation more satisfactory than those having a racial explanation (p. 86). The hypothesis for the origin of caste that Professor Cox seems to accept holds that "it had its incipience in rivalry between Brahmans and Kshatriyas for primacy in the social order" (p. 113).

Part II of the book discusses class. It has a helpful section on estates and the feudal social order. Social organization then was static and "living on 'frozen' capital" (p. 124). This type of system compared with the bourgeoisie of capitalism and the proletariat in communism. The author thinks that "a convincing theory of 'class' relations is still not generally available" (p. 121). However, one wonders at times in this section of the book whether he is not stating a

political creed and expressing a social conviction rather than analyzing as a social scientist. Professor Cox is aware of this since he writes in the preface, "if . . . parts of this study seem Marxian, it is not because we have taken the ideas of this justly famous writer as gospel, but because we have not discovered any other that could explain the facts so consistently" (p. xi). In the opinion of this reviewer he seems to have undersold current contributions to the theory of social class and to have been unduly attracted to the class theories of Marx and Engels. One is left with the impression that he may have confused social dynamics with social action.

Part III is chiefly devoted to the race problem in the United States. It is by far the most constructive section of the book. Ethnocentrism, intolerance, and "racism" are delineated as three concepts that are commonly confused with race relations. In the absence of a universally acceptable definition of race, the author suggests that "for the sociologist a race may be thought of as simply any group of people that is generally believed to be, and generally accepted as, a race in any given area of ethnic competition" (p. 319).

Race antagonism is presented as a child of modern times. The author selects 1493-1494 as the beginning of modern race relations. He does not believe that the caste-hypothesis of race relations is helpful. "An understanding of modern race relations will be achieved only if we look at the situation from the point of view of the desires and methods of Europeans in their dealings with people of color" (p. 351). He suggests that "in developing a theory of race relations in the South one must look to the economic policies of the ruling classes" (p. 524). Economic exploitation would seem to be the key to the author's analysis of race relations.

The author does not lack courage when he criticizes the present accepted authorities. In the battlefield of the discussion no giant seems too great for him. Two Goliaths that he attacks are W. Lloyd Warner and Gunnar Myrdal. He believes that Warner's volumes represent "studies based mainly on a mistaken conception of the social class structure of a contemporary American city. They are the most pretentious works on social class in recent literature and at the same time a monumental illustration of what is likely to occur when a researcher goes into the field with a conviction which must be satisfied" (p. 294). He does not believe that the dilemma which Myrdal presents is peculiarly American. He would also criticize *An American Dilemma*

because it merely develops the caste hypothesis of race relations. He claims that Myrdal's study is based on a "value premise" (p. 510) and that Myrdal is a "confirmed moralist" (p. 537).

There may be those who will disagree with Professor Cox's allusion to assimilation as a solution of the race problem but there will probably be wide agreement that he has produced a stimulating work. He has amassed a wealth of material and assimilated it into a logical whole. It will undoubtedly be received as one of the most scholarly and comprehensive approaches to race relations that is now available.

It contains copious footnotes. There are more than one thousand quotations. This indicates the author's acquaintance with the literature but it may suggest that further rumination might have improved his presentation. There is an excellent bibliography and the book is well indexed.

SAMUEL W. BLIZZARD, JR.

*The Pennsylvania State College*

*Radicalism and Conservatism Toward Conventional Religion.* By PHILIP MORTON KITAY. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947. 117 pp. Cloth \$2.10.

Harmonious home life appears to be essential if we would insure religiousness, according to this strong treatise. Any experience which destroys the child's sense of psychological security and his conviction of the justness of his parents and of the social group results in doubt as to the forces behind the universe. This study of Jewish students in the College of the City of New York opens with five objectives, namely, nature of the differences in life histories of those who favor and who oppose the church; the factors involved in favorable versus unfavorable attitudes; whether religious radicalism comes from social radicalism and religious conservatism from social conservatism; the productiveness of personal documents in such a study; and upon what specific politico-economic issues religious radicals and conservatives differ most.

The review of other studies is very skillfully done making this a rare text on the conservative-radical influences in education. The treatment is admirable, the language specific, but unfortunately the scope is narrow. The ten tables in which the results are presented, plus secondary groupings, graphs, and formulae, however, cover thirty-two fruitful pages of convincing statement on the sample studied.

Case histories are given to illustrate the 139



students studied. Also, a careful study of twenty-five persons classed as opposition to the church and twenty-five persons favorable to the church are analysed. Finally the instruments used by the author are introduced and a full statement of the groupings is given.

In the second chapter he discusses (1) The Plan, (2) The Population, (3) Procedure, (4) Instruments Employed, (5) Treatment of Data. It may be well to quote certain paragraphs from page 27 on treatment to show his technique:

The categories used for the statistical treatment of data were: satisfactoriness of adjustment to parents (favorite parent, dominant parent, favorableness in opinions of parents) type of discipline in home and approval or disapproval of it by the subject, harmony in home atmosphere, harmony with sibs, broken or intact home, opinion of self (excessive inferiority feeling, egotism, or not extreme in these respects), areas of personal problems, sexual adjustment (inhibited, troublesome, satisfactory), social success including membership and leadership in social organizations, goals, sensitiveness, nervousness, major ills, political interest, political views on several issues (government ownership of industry, government control of utilities, private enterprise system, labor unions, women's rights), differences from parents on these issues, concept of God, favorableness to the church, value placed upon religion, differences from parents on religious views, factors influencing the development of religious views, and factors influencing development of political views.

The Essay method was also used, the outline being as follows: (p. 78)

4. What do you believe to be the nature of God? What is the relationship between God and general happenings on earth? Between God and what happens in the life of the individual? 5. What is your estimate of the value of your own religion (the one you were raised in)? Of religion in general? What are your attitudes toward attendance at church or synagogue? Religious observance at home?

Nor does the author claim too much for his conclusions. He knows that the sampling may have defects and the instruments tend to prove too much, etc., yet his method of study is valuable. He writes: (pp. 80 and 81)

It must be recognized that these are verbalized reasons and may be rationalizations. Opposition to religion because it is opposed to science is the next most frequently given reason. Death of a loved one, fear aspect, money aspect of religion, and faulty system of religious education are given next in frequency for anti-religious stand. Desire for assimilation and failure of religion to give a stable world are the only other reasons with a frequency of more than 1. Eight varieties of personal experience result-

ing in anti-religious feelings were mentioned with a frequency of 1. The five miscellaneous reasons are actually objections to the role played by religion. It is possible that the reasons given in reply to a check list might have been different from those obtained by the essay method employed here.

Whether a more generous sampling would have overcome these defects, the question of verification of the rationalized essay statements by further checking methods and like inquiries are anticipated by the writer. As a whole the treatise is satisfactory as to method. The book, while written on a few cases only and without Gentile cases, is definitely valuable as an educational or religious education document.

EDWARD W. BLAKEMAN

*University of Michigan*

*The Community in American Society.* By JOHN A. KINNEAN. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1947. 450 pp. \$3.75.

This volume is an outgrowth of college teaching experience and is designed for use in courses dealing with the American community. In preparation of a volume of this kind the author faced the serious difficulty of providing descriptive material and formulating generalizations that would hold true for the term community which covers such a wide range of population units differing greatly in size and existing under extraordinarily divergent conditions. An attempt was made to solve this problem by devoting attention chiefly to urban centers of medium size without ignoring entirely rural and village communities and large metropolitan centers. This decision made possible a more unified approach to his subject but obviously it places limitations upon the application of his conclusions to communities in general.

Moreover, the title of the book leads one to expect an adequate presentation of all the basic factors that enter into community life. Only one chapter, however, is given to the economic base, and the problem of government is largely limited to the administration of certain community institutions. This lack of a well rounded treatment is of course explained by the fact that the book was written from the standpoint of a sociologist and deals chiefly with aspects of the community that fall within this field. The tendency to have the title of a book give promise of a more comprehensive treatment than is actually the case is widespread and may be as much the fault of the publisher as of the author. In the case of the book under discussion, the above criticisms could have been forestalled by the use of a

subtitle indicating more precisely the field to be covered.

After an introductory section the topics treated are organized under five general headings: structure, people, institutions, organization, and functions. While an author must be granted the right to organize his materials in a way suited to his purpose, it seems strange to limit the section on institutions to a discussion of folkways. His presentation of the institutional aspects of the community is divided between the sections on organization and functions in a manner that necessitates overlapping and is somewhat confusing to the reader. Such topics as community change, conflicts in various fields, disorganization, crisis, and morale are treated in the section entitled functions.

Human ecologists may take exception to the author's definition of symbiosis as "a tendency in community life for activities of a given kind to locate near each other." As examples of symbiosis characteristic of cities he points to the concentration of similar types of retail establishments in shopping districts and the grouping together of doctors and dentists in a medical office building. This extension of the term symbiosis to include phenomena of this kind is a departure from its basic meaning in the biological sciences. In human ecology examples of symbiotic relationships are usually found in the association of people of different races or classes where the contacts are on an impersonal or business level without any intimate social intermingling.

Among the good features of the book are its abundance of concrete data made more vivid by the use of graphs and maps, the well arranged and easily understood statistical tables, the well selected bibliographies and lists of suggested activities for students given at the end of each chapter, and a comprehensive index. The book is well suited for a text in sociology departments that prefer a general course on the community instead of two separate courses dealing with rural and urban sociology.

JESSE F. STEINER

University of Washington

*Understanding Society: The Principles of Dynamic Sociology.* By HOWARD W. ODUM. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. vi + 749 pp. \$5.00.

*Understanding Society* is intended for use as an elementary sociology text, but it is decidedly different from the usual introductory text of recent years. This does not eliminate it for such

use however. On the contrary, a considerable proportion of the total page content is devoted to teaching and learning devices. These include a chapter on "How to Study Society" and a "Library and Workshop" in connection with each chapter which is more extensive and superior to that of any other sociology text this reviewer has seen. In addition to the general and special readings, the Library and Workshop section contains a list of thought provoking questions, a series of projects dealing with the social action agencies and organizations, definitions and illustrations of the major concepts used in the chapter, and several pictures, charts, maps, and/or tables which present valuable and stimulating data.

The major difference between this and other recent texts is that the entire book is organized within the basic frame of reference provided by the contrast between and the problems produced by the shift from folk culture to civilization. Because of this organization the sociologist who wants the elementary course to be a survey of the relatively independent areas which have been explored by sociologists will find this text unsatisfactory. Another distinguishing feature of this volume is the emphasis upon sociology as the "science of society." The major portion of the book is therefore devoted to the over-all characteristics of society. In fact Odum maintains that the "unit of study is not the *socius*, or the socially behaving individual, but the folk group, the folk mass, the folk regional society." (p. 267). The major divisions of the book are indicative of the organization and subject matter covered. They are: (1) Society and Nature, (2) Society and Culture where culture refers to the "natural" folkways, mores and institutions of the folk society, (3) Society and Civilization where civilization refers to the "stateways" and "technicways" of the technological state society, (4) Society and People, (5) Society and Its Problems, and (6) Social Research and Social Theory.

In general the reactions of this reviewer were favorable. The style is interesting and readable and the unified organization results in the feeling that you know what sociology is about when you have finished the book. These characteristics are certainly to be desired in an elementary text. The main thesis is convincingly supported and the beginning student in sociology is likely to have a pretty clear and comprehensive view of society when this text is used. There are, however, several items which may disturb many sociologists. This reviewer had the constant

feeling that the author's generalizations were somewhat influenced by the high value which he attached to the folk culture. His despair of the future of society unless the modern civilization could be balanced with some of the more "natural" culture was not entirely supported by the evidence presented. Related to this is the generalization that civilization with its techniques and stateways is artificial or unnatural in contrast to the culture which has developed in folk society. The thesis that these manifestations in modern technological society are different from the folkways and mores and destructive of society rather than adjustments of the folk behavior which develop out of a new social situation is not entirely convincing. Somewhat less significant criticisms are the tendency to sacrifice accurate, concise definitions for literary style and the frequent repetition of many of the same points in the different chapters of the book.

For those who accept the approach that sociology is the science of society and the main principles presented, this will be a popular and highly teachable text; among others it will probably be rarely used for this purpose, but all sociologists will find it stimulating and an essential addition to their principles of sociology library.

WILBUR B. BROOKOVER

*Michigan State College*

*The Psychology of Rumor.* By GORDON W. ALLPORT and LEO POSTMAN. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947. xiv + 247 pages. \$2.60.

Observation that a "large part of ordinary social conversation consists of rumor mongering" has discouraged many from undertaking the objective study of rumor. Fortunately Allport and Postman seized upon opportunities for investigation of rumor available to them during the 1941-1945 phase of the World War and have written a useful volume on the subject which contains many substantial contributions.

The authors undertook to study rumor not only from the standpoint of collected incidents and the experiences of the wartime rumor "clinics" and "wardens" but also through experimentation. The incidents gave them data on the speed of rumor dissemination and the significance of ambiguity and importance (to the person repeating the rumor) in giving rumor momentum. Laboratory experiments with the repetition of eye-witness accounts of diagram content led them to conclude that there is a basic

pattern of distortion in rumor. They characterize this pattern as consisting of leveling, sharpening, and assimilating. They point to the powerful role of culture in the assimilation of rumor.

Allport and Postman correct the old contention that rumor "flies in the absence of news." Their evidence leads them to conclude that rumor "will race when individuals distrust the news that reaches them," and they indicate, with illustrations, what they mean by "distrust," a very significant conception.

Especially interesting to the sociologist are data on guilt-evasion rumors and on the metaphorical significance of rumor. Guilt-evasion rumors flourish especially on the many conflicts between morals and mores in our society, for example those between American beliefs in equality and in white supremacy. The persistence of rumors in folklore because of their "appraisive-poetic" character, their "symbolic truth," suggests the ways in which the rumor process constantly adds to culture.

The last chapter in the book attempts to furnish guidance in the analysis of rumor, illustrated with cases. The guidance provided is fairly adequate, but one is constantly haunted in reading it by the thought that the only final test for rumor is how well it fits or does not fit facts of verified and verifiable observation. Such facts are frequently not available, and few care to take the prosaic course of suspending judgment because available evidence is rather obviously inadequate or distorted.

Allport and Postman's contributions are not only to our knowledge of the psychology of rumor and of rumor's roles in propaganda and in opinion formation but also to the more general sociological problem of the modification of the more stable cultural elements in our society.

ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE

*Wayne University*

*Family Farm Policy.* Edited by JOSEPH ACKERMAN and MARSHALL HARRIS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. xxii + 518 pp. \$4.00.

This book is a record of the proceedings of a conference on Family Farm Policy held at the University of Chicago, February 15-20, 1946. The conference was attended by seventy-six people who participated as individuals rather than as official representatives of their governments or agencies. While nearly all of the participants were Americans, there were among the number men from the British Commonwealth,

Northern and Central Europe, and Latin America.

The conference devoted its attention mainly to farm tenure problems. Those who planned it began with the assumption that good farm tenure practices can best be attained through international cooperation, and they felt that an exchange of information among members of different nations having tenure problems somewhat like those in the United States would be desirable. Papers were presented on tenure improvement programs in Great Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Brazil, Puerto Rico, France, Germany and Czechoslovakia, following an opening discussion on "The Place of the Family Farm in United States Land Policy."

The participants generally agreed that the establishment and maintenance of family farms is to be desired in order "to increase production, to improve social conditions, and to stabilize political institutions." It was also agreed generally that "public policy in the United States has always favored the family farm as a social and economic unit." It was noted, however, that public action has not at all well implemented the family farm ideal. Here, as elsewhere, throughout our national life, the ideals that we proclaim and the values which determine our behavior are badly out of harmony.

Complete agreement upon a definition of the family farm was not reached in the conference. The committee having the matter to deal with suggested that "in its most rigid form" the family farm is one in which all four elements of a farm—land, labor, capital, and management—"reside wholly within the family that works the land." In conformity with this, a farm should not be so small that it couldn't "absorb efficiently" the labor of a typical family, nor so large that it would require more labor than the family could supply, except in emergency situations. Conditions in various countries differ as regards the amount of outside labor employed on what are considered to be family farms. Canada represents an extreme in one direction; France, in the other. In Canada, more outside labor is employed on her large farms than is the case in the United States, while in France, almost none is employed.

It apparently is generally felt in America that the interests of the country are best served by having the agricultural industry carried on almost exclusively by family-farm units, defined somewhat as above. Farms, however, do not at

all completely fall into this sort of arrangement, even though it is generally agreed to be desirable. An increasing number of farms are either too small or too large to fit the definition. There is also a great amount of absentee ownership, the occupants of the farms being merely tenants of one sort or another. Clearly if generally desired conditions of tenure are to be achieved, the government will need to step into the picture in a large way, using whatever means are found to be effective. The great obstacle to this is the fact that such a program would involve "government planning," which runs definitely counter to the strongly individualistic values of America. Countries characterized by less individualistic cultures have had considerable success in implementing the ideals which Americans profess. In Denmark, for example, "94 per cent of its farmers now own and operate family farms."

In conclusion, this reviewer wishes to question whether the family-farm ideal is as worthy as it is generally held to be. Among the policy objectives set forth in the conference were "the dignity of labor and responsibility of personal freedom." It seems clear enough when one thinks carefully of it that personal freedom and family economic solidarity are definitely incompatible. Considerable numbers of women marry American farmers under the impression that they are merely getting married, later to find that they have become workers in an occupation for which they are not at all well suited. Great numbers of children, especially boys, who are born into farm families are caught by a system that gives them no true personal freedom at all. Family and neighborhood pressures force them into grooves that do violence to the unique natures with which they were endowed by heredity.

The family-farm system undoubtedly serves to aid in stabilizing political institutions. If we are entirely honest about it though, we must admit that this stability is brought about at the expense of personal freedom. Individual tendencies of wives and children toward revolt against unsatisfactory conditions are put down by counter measures within the family itself, thus guarding the social order as a whole from the unsettling effect of the impact of maladjusted individuals who are more or less blindly striving in the direction of what seems to them a better life.

ROY HINMAN HOLMES

*University of Michigan*



*The Psycho-Analytical Approach to Juvenile Delinquency.* By KATE FRIEDLANDER. New York: International Universities Press, 1947. 296 pp. \$5.50.

The legal conception of delinquency is not in accord with the psychoanalytical conception. A person is delinquent if his attitudes will lead to violational behavior, even though he does not get acted upon officially. Delinquency is the result mainly of the development of anti-social character, which was forged in early parent-child relationships. The individual is unable to evolve from the pleasure principle to the reality principle in life's adjustments.

Both delinquency and neurosis result from unconscious conflict and motivation but in the former the character formation is different. It is anti-social, due to too much frustration alternated with too much gratification of the pleasure principle. Sometimes, not often, the combination of anti-social character with an overlay of neurotic illness occurs, as in the instances of kleptomania and criminality from sense of guilt. Sex perversion, which many times leads to overt, reportable crimes, displays both a neurotic and an anti-social character base.

In addition to the anti-social character formation which constitutes the numerically preponderant etiological classification of delinquents and criminals, Friedlander recognizes two other classes or etiological types: organic disturbances and psychotic ego-disturbance. The theoretical basis for curing delinquency in this scheme is rectification of faulty character development. Otherwise, all efforts are merely patchwork and temporary in effect. The adult personality can undergo profound character change under analysis. The mechanism involved is transference—transference of early established emotional attitudes to the analyst, which enables the patient to resolve conflicts and to work out of his anti-social character.

Actually the analyst can only work effectively with persons on a voluntary basis, four or five times a week in one hour sessions, extended over a period of about two years more or less. He cannot work in the controlled environment of the prison or reformatory, where some cases have already received their gratification to be punished. Among children, the analyst is most effective with those between seven and ten years of age. Among adults, the analyst can get best results from cases in which the neurotic basis is most evident rather than anti-social character formation.

The latter statement is just one of many basic inconsistencies in this whole formulation. The main etiological type is anti-social character formation; yet the analyst can work with only those which show a neurotic trend. The analyst has a complete explanation but can only work with some cases, on his terms alone. This is very well for private practice but has very little value, except by indirect diffusion of psychoanalytic understanding to other workers, for the great, great majority of offenders and potential offenders.

The explanation of crime still emanates from the formulations regarding the neurotic. The neurotic was discovered; then the delinquent. There seems to be little chance to get the delinquent disentangled from the neurotic in any foreseeable future in psychoanalytical thinking of the Freudian school. Friedlander has gone about as far away from the neurotic pathway as a Freudian analyst can go. The book is as clear an elucidation of the application of latter day Freudianism to delinquency as I have seen. The inconsistencies, in logic and formulation, always expected in large numbers, seem to be reduced to a minimum. Perhaps I might dare ask again the old unanswered question: where's the supporting evidence for this hypothesis in a specific case, for the succeeding inference, for the succeeding assumption, for the next statement, until the whole diagnosis and interpretation in the case is fully spun out. It has always seemed to me that psychoanalytic treatment has worked in some neurotic cases because the analyst himself was able to get the person to work out feelings and to develop insight, irrespective of the basic formulations of psychoanalytic etiology.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

*Ohio State University*

*Negro Year Book.* Edited by JESSIE P. GUZMAN. Tuskegee, Alabama: Tuskegee Institute, 1947. xv + 708 pp. \$4.50.

After an absence of nine years the generally accepted compendium on the Negro, the *Negro Year Book*, has reappeared. Divided into five major parts, it contains information on the Negro in the United States, Africa, Latin America, and Europe, as well as an annotated bibliography of books by or concerning Negroes in all but the latter region. Unlike previous editions, the current volume has been put together from the contributions of a number of individuals. This is said to add "a breadth of viewpoint and ex-

pression" that was unrealized under the editorship of the late founder and editor, Monroe Work.

As the major encyclopedic source book on Negroes this volume has the obligation to be meticulously accurate, rigidly correct, and up-to-date in data. Unfortunately, upon examination it falls short in every one of these categories. A glaring defect is immediately apparent in its statistical materials. A book published in late 1947 should certainly have included, especially when available, statistics through 1946. The year book has relied heavily upon the United States Census of 1940, although it professes to cover the period 1941-1946. The Census Bureau issues at regular intervals each year statistical reports on practically every subject covered in its main decennial volumes, and these recent periodical reports should have been widely employed in compiling this source book. This shortcoming is strikingly evident in materials relating to population, agriculture, education, business, and crime.

The lists on such subjects as Negroes holding the Ph.D. degree, belonging to Phi Beta Kappa, possessing membership in honor societies, and teaching in white colleges and universities, all are incomplete and inaccurate. The data in the section on religion merely skirts the major issue of segregation and discrimination in the Church, and is generally too brief to be of much value. The race relations section is limited in scope; the material on politics covers only partially the Negro in the political field; and the chapter on civil rights—probably the most important aspect of Negro existence today in the United States—is conspicuous by its compendious inadequacy.

At a time when affiliation with a certain political party may mean the loss of the right to earn a living, to refer to individuals in this connection is highly questionable. But it is entirely inexcusable when there are written records refuting any such association. A. Philip Randolph, the labor leader, has for years been known as a professed Socialist, while Langston Hughes, the poet and author, has stated verbally and in publications that he has never had any specific political affinity. Nevertheless, on page 280 both of these well known Negroes are referred to as Communists.

Other units pertaining to the Negro in the recent war, the press, athletics, and music all contain errors of interpretation, fact, and omissions. The section on inventions and discoveries includes items that by no stretch of the imagina-

tion can be so classified. The part on the Negro in Latin America is presented under a misleading title, for it turns out to be a discussion of the Negro in the West Indies and Haiti. The Negro in the countries from Mexico to Argentina, those commonly referred to as comprising Latin America, is completely ignored.

The volume does, however, contain some positive aspects. Its format is commendable. The treatment of the Negro in the national economy, although only dated through 1945, is helpful and authoritative. The data on race riots are valid and current; and the reconnaissance of the Negro in literature is effective.

A major requirement for an epitome like the *Negro Year Book* is reliability. It is obvious from the errors noted here—and there are others—that the present edition must be used with care and recognition of its limitations. Perhaps a more careful selection of contributors, with emphasis on specialty of field, would do much to help remedy this defect. Further, the studious insistence on exactness, the use of rigid controls and application of only acceptable statistical methods, as well as cautious and vigilant scrutiny of every item to be included may enable the next edition to merit acceptance as the major encyclopedia volume of source materials on the Negro. Regrettably, the 1947 *Negro Year Book* cannot be so recommended.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

*National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People*

*The Pueblo Indians of San Ildefonso: A Changing Culture.* By WILLIAM WHITMAN 3rd. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. 164 pp. \$2.75.

While the publishers label this volume "the first adequate description of the lives and customs of the San Ildefonso Indians," the author, more aware of the difficulties of field research in the Rio Grande pueblos, calls it "not an end but a beginning." It represents, however, an excellent beginning. The author and his family resided in San Ildefonso, New Mexico for three periods between 1937 and 1939, participating as fully as permitted in the life of the pueblo, with the main objective of studying behavior in a small homogeneous community. The death of the author before completion of the report has reduced its size and scope, but the results throw considerable light on pueblo personality and psychology, as well as illuminating various Tewa institutions and practices.

San Ildefonso is perhaps the best known of the Tewa-speaking pueblos in New Mexico. A small pueblo, some 20 miles north of Santa Fe, it is the home of several famous Indian potters and painters, and is wealthy and sophisticated in comparison with its neighbors. But San Ildefonso is no longer the homogeneous and peaceful village it may once have been. The problems produced by contact with the modern world have brought dissensions which the traditional social structure is unable to control. The resultant factions have come to occupy separate plazas and to engage in semi-autonomous religious activities. Here is one process by which new villages were created in the old days.

The individual life cycle and family behavior are treated in considerable detail. Without formal instruction or the use of force the child is guided into the acceptable patterns of adult behavior. These latter patterns include the repression of overt aggression to such a point that there is no cultural solution for the rare outbreaks of actual violence, and a conception of leadership in terms of duty rather than achievement. These are general pueblo patterns and testify to the moulding influence of pueblo culture on behavior. The greatest deviation from pueblo norms is in the realm of sex behavior: there is an apparent lack of interest in sex displayed by both boys and girls and marriage is stable with little or no divorce. Here the influence of the Catholic Church is apparent but the author lists other causes as well.

The influences of Spain and Catholicism go back some 400 years and have, in many cases, become an integral part of pueblo life. But more recent influences, in many cases designed for assistance, offer the prospect of obliterating aboriginal culture almost completely. Dr. Whittman notes how the rise of the pottery industry to supply the tourist trade has revolutionized San Ildefonso economics and reversed the traditional role of the sexes in village life. Even more serious, in the eyes of the reviewer, is the decline of agriculture, the traditional basis for pueblo economy. Only six men in the pueblo raise enough to support their families; "the younger men prefer less arduous labor and devote most of their time to Government work and to decorating pottery" (p. 112). This situation is serious because "religion more than anything else is the integrative factor in San Ildefonso society." Since agriculture is the basis of pueblo religious life it is not difficult to predict the end result. The decline in the

religious hierarchy, the factional developments, and perhaps the prevalence of witchcraft are symptoms of a process that is pueblo-wide. While the return of veterans from the war has resulted in a temporary religious renaissance they will, in time, be a major factor in the further disintegration of the socio-religious structure of the pueblos.

FRED EGGAN

*University of Chicago*

*Freedom and Order: Lessons from the War.*

By EDUARD HEIMANN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. Pp. xiv + 344. \$3.00.

Thesis: decadent democracy caused the war—too much freedom, too little order. Nazism rose from the rotten carcass of democracy, just as Hitler claimed. The German people didn't really follow him; they merely repudiated moribund liberalism. Lutheranism contributed to this by emphasizing individual sin, accepting sinful temporal authority, and relying on God's mercy for personal salvation. This is the war's real lesson: "The less just we were, the more the war was just—it gave us the opportunity to expiate by our deeds; it made us more just than we were before" (p. 30). Nonsense!

The author finds "The Crisis of the Social Sciences" in "... the growing awareness of social scientists that something is wrong with their teachings if ... they are constitutionally unable to contribute toward the defense of democracy or even to say where their technical advice may lead" (pp. 240-41). The remedy for this dire state is "Rethinking Fundamentals" (Chapter XII). We must recognize that facts, reason, and science are not enough; that man is basically sinful and Evil; that Truth, Justice, Love, and Peace are Pure and Absolute, though nonexistent. (His capitalization.) We must return to God—to Christianity, to be exact. "Christianity, and Christianity alone, can make democracy possible" (p. 308).

How can man know God's will? Not by reason, not by science; only by prophetic revelation. So the Nazi charismatic leader reappears in Heimann—who hates Nazism and feels sorry for Max Weber with his heroic and ascetic devotion to science.

The book is well-written on a high level of abstraction but it saddens and annoys one who thinks science is more profitable than prophets. It is irritating to struggle with reified abstractions, metaphors, analogies, and literary language. Terms like freedom, order, spiritual,

democracy, justice, etc., are used without definition in ill-defined frames of reference. Statements like "the inhabitants of the Far East are likely to double their number in one generation" (p. 178) and the author's dogmatic, homiletic tone makes one wonder how any man can know so much about so many things and be so sure.

It saddens one to find a social scientist denying the function of science and exhorting mankind to rely upon the prophetic revelation of God's Will for guidance. It also is sad to learn that the primary function of social scientists is to "defend" democracy and Christianity, or any other specific social structure. It is not true that scientists, which includes social scientists, are unable "to say where their technical advice may lead." The opposite is true; scientists *can* say, "If you do so and so, the results will be such and such." Prophets, popes, politicians, artists, and all non-scientists, are the people who cannot say where their advice may lead. History is the tragic proof of this.

Heimann should not call for a return to the gods; he should call for more *scientific* social knowledge. He should not bite the discipline that feeds him merely because it cannot answer all his questions now. It can answer *some* questions better than preachers and prophets can answer *any* questions; it is constantly giving better answers to more difficult questions. If Heimann disbelieves this, he should stop posing as a social scientist and go back to preaching.

Space prevents showing that "freedom vs. order" is one of those oversimplified and apparently profound dichotomies which the word-juggling type of "social science" has produced in such profusion: individual vs. society; mind vs. body; heredity vs. environment; and so on. Reified abstractions; symbols without referents; words without meaning. Social *scientists* have given up such word-magic long ago.

I don't know what this book should be called—but it ain't social science, kiddies.

READ BAIN

Reed College



## BOOK NOTES

*Ethics for the Atomic Age.* By ANA MARIE O'NEILL. Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1948. 411 pp. \$3.00.

"Ethics . . . is the extension of the laboratory attitude to the problems of life" (p. 84). "Sociologists present morality as indiscernible from custom and therefore as devoid of meaning as abbreviated skirts and silly hats. . . . Summing up the contribution of sociology to the solution of the problem which equal urges and unequal capacities present, we must say that it is completely negative" (pp. 85-86). In short, this is another philosophical exhortation to solve the problems of the atomic age with democratic living and Christian ethics!

*National Censuses and Vital Statistics in Europe, 1918-1939. An Annotated Bibliography.* Prepared by HENRY J. DUBESTER. United States Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., 1948. Pp. vii + 215. 40 cents.

This is a product of the Census Library Project which was initiated jointly by the Bureau of the Census and the Library of Congress in 1940. It lists chronologically, indicates the American library where available, and describes the content of the census publications of each individual nation of Europe for the years 1918 through 1939. Moreover, censuses that were announced but not executed are also discussed. As a manual of source materials this booklet is exceedingly valuable.

*Science: Its Effect on Industry, Politics, War, Education, Religion and Leadership.* By D. W. HILL. Brooklyn: Chemical Publishing Company, 1946. 114 pp. \$2.75.

This book, *Science*, could well have been an excellent essay on the current status of science. At least, the subject matter of its title and subtitle is of importance. As it is, one must say that it is a series of loose generalizations, not substantiated by data presented in the study. An example of Dr. Hill's thinking on this subject is found in his definition of science. Science is "the power to think logically, dispassionately, impersonally, objectively and thoroughly according to a definite pattern that can be consciously adopted and taught; to extend knowledge by ordered experiment; and perhaps one should add, to act fearlessly on the conclusions reached" (p. iv). It seems to this reviewer that there is nothing in the "power to think," as described in this definition, which would distinguish scientific

thought from religious or philosophic thought. And are all fanatics, for example, who act on the "conclusions reached" to be regarded as scientific or scientists? Can anyone say that the action of another is "fearlessly" taken?

In Chapter 6, "Science and Religion," Dr. Hill takes the strange position that the development of science has had no effect on religious beliefs. In discussing Joshua and the sun standing still in the heavens because of divine intervention, Hill says "the story has lost none of its meaning nor its savor because we now know that the sun does not . . . traverse the skies from horizon to horizon. The picture remains the same . . ." (p. 86). Dr. Hill tends to equate the problem of ignorance in science, that is, the awareness of unsolved problems, with religious faith. We do not, he says, give up our belief in science because of these unsolved problems. This "lack of understanding" in science is, according to him, the counterpart of belief in a supernatural Being, whom we do not understand. I would say that the problem of not knowing in science is different in kind from the belief in an unknown Being in religion. One's belief in the religious unknown deserves more than this very weak justification—if indeed, any justification is needed (p. 87). On page 91 we find the bizarre assertion that science and religion "are related . . . in that they are both opposed to the natural predilections of men." One is simply at a loss to understand what this means. Dr. Hill takes the questionable position that science developed out of religion (pp. 84-86).

In Chapter 3 (Science and Politics) and 7 (Science and Leadership), Dr. Hill's position may be summarized: let science be applied to all areas of human society; let the determination of policy in human affairs be given to scientists. One gathers from his discussion and his examples that "scientists" are "physical scientists." In neither of these chapters nor in that on Science and Education, does he show what there is in the nature of the training of physical scientists which warrants their being given this responsibility. And he does not indicate what their training should be to effect this.

One concludes that this book offers no new insight on the societal problems created and augmented by science. If physical scientists were given control over societal policy, what scientific knowledge have we that our problems would not be greater than they presently are?

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